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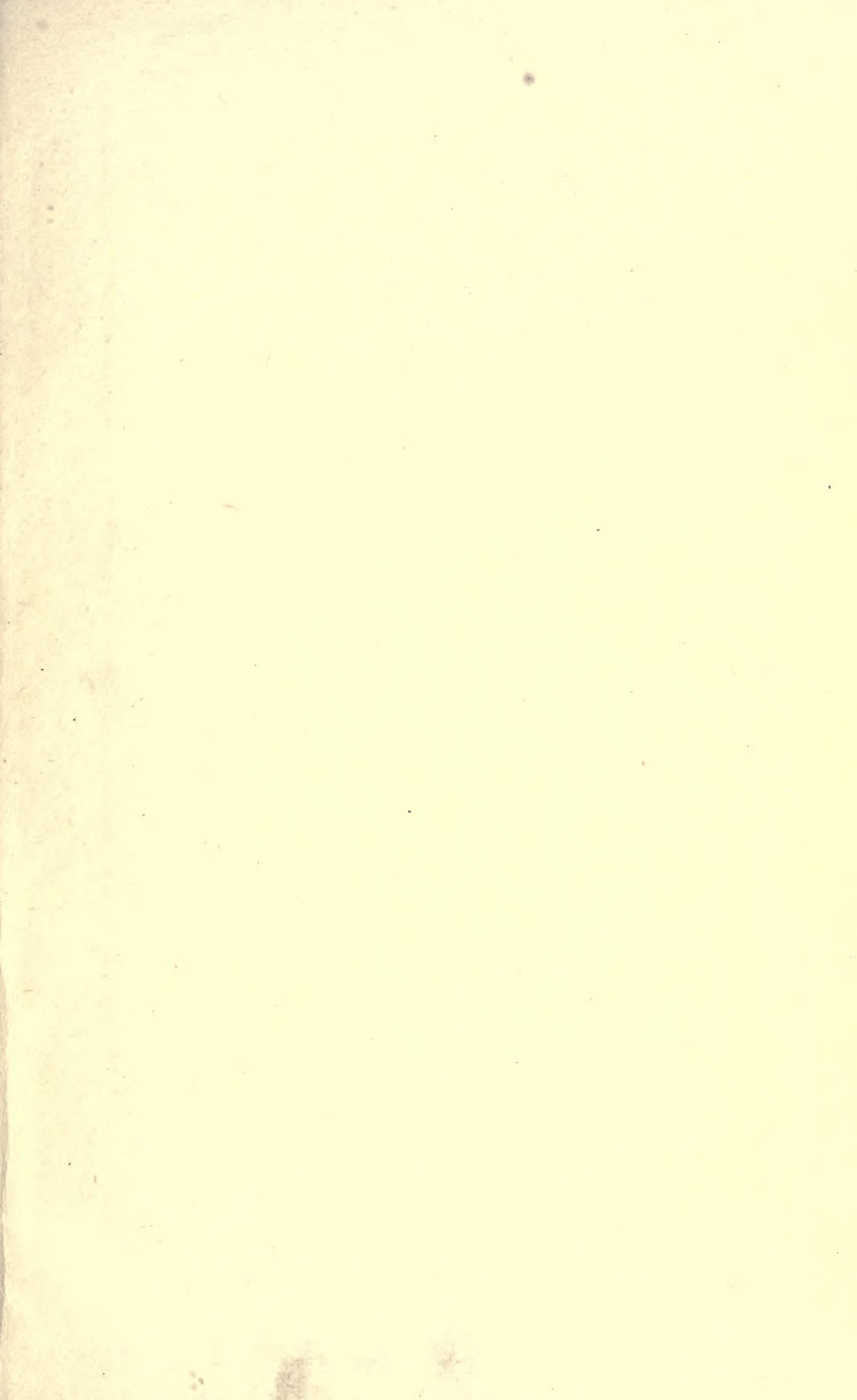
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NEW SERIES, VOL. XXVIII, 1

I.—FROM NECESSITY TO TRANSCENDENTALISM IN COLERIDGE

From his college days onward Coleridge considered himself, and was considered by his intimate friends, the champion of religion, and particularly of the Christian religion. That this championing of Christianity was frequently attested in his letters and writings; that the most ambitious poem of his youth—*Religious Musings*—was written in the spirit of its title; that he occasionally preached from Unitarian pulpits; that all his later prose writings were predominantly religious; that he at no time considered the writing of poetry his prime purpose—these facts lead to the conclusion that religion was the dominating interest throughout most of his life.

In Coleridge's religious history as reflected in his writings there are two broadly marked stages, divided at about the year 1798-9—the period of his visit to Germany. In the first stage he was a Necessitarian, and almost simultaneously a Unitarian, while in the second he became a

Transcendentalist. The changes in his mind, though rather radical, can be accounted for both historically and psychologically. All his writings that touch on religion, including *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner*, fall chronologically into their place, showing a natural sequence in his spiritual development. In the first period (1794-1798) the religious thought of the poet is governed chiefly by the conception that God, at the center of everything, predetermines and regulates all physical and mental life into a sort of universal harmony, or unity. Expressed as opinion in the earlier poems, this conception is sublimated into a pervasive spiritual atmosphere in *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner*.

I

NECESSITY AND UNITY

The poem *Religious Musings* was partially written in 1794, when Coleridge was twenty-two, and was completed and published in 1796. "I build my poetic pretensions on the *Religious Musings*," wrote Coleridge to his friend Thelwall at the time of its publication. The poem indeed represents a very serious effort; but it is important for what it intends to perform rather than for what it performs. Its style is turgid and grandiose; it has nothing of the simple, terse, idiomatic English which Coleridge achieved in his later poems. Though it has no great intrinsic literary value, it was often considered in Coleridge's day as his most important deliverance,¹ and is

¹"I have read all your *Religious Musings* with uninterrupted feelings of profound admiration. You may safely rest your fame on it."—Charles Lamb, in a letter to Coleridge, 1796.

"I was reading your *Religious Musings* the other day, and sincerely I think it the noblest poem in the language next after the *Paradise Lost*."—Charles Lamb, in a letter to Coleridge, January 5, 1797.

significant as indicating the trend of his most serious thinking at that period when his mind was in a formative state. Its thought, complicated and not wholly self-consistent, is dominated by the principles of Necessity and of Unity.

Necessitarianism, which is known as determinism in philosophy, is opposed to Free-will. "I am a complete necessitarian," Coleridge wrote to Southey at the time he was composing *Religious Musings*, "and believe the corporeality of *thought*, namely, that it is motion." In another letter of about the same time he speaks of himself as "a Unitarian Christian, and an advocate for the automatism of man." He thus conceived of mind as merely an automatic and passive instrument through which the cosmic order finds an avenue of expression.

Unitarianism says that God is all and that God is love. In a letter to John Thelwall in 1796, in which Coleridge incidentally affirmed that even from the point of view of poetic sublimity Isaiah and St. Paul and St. John easily surpass Homer and Virgil, he wrote: "Now the religion which Christ taught is simply, first, that there is an omnipresent Father of infinite power, wisdom, and goodness, in whom we all of us move and have our being; and secondly, that when we appear to man to die we do not utterly perish, but after this life shall continue to enjoy or suffer the consequences and natural effects of the habits we have formed here, whether good or evil. This is the Christian *religion*, and all of the Christian *religion*." It is striking that in this passage, which makes the bold claim to express the whole of Christianity, there is not even so much as a hint of the orthodox idea that man is sinful and is saved by grace, and that whatever harshness lurks in the Calvinistic conception of Necessitarianism is immediately removed by the Unitarian conception that since God is love,

all are elect and no human being can be given over to eternal punishment. With Necessity at one pole of his thought and Unity at the other the young poet felt he had solved the riddle of the universe and that he had a living message for the world. This message, he proudly remarked in one of his letters, was to be found in his literary works; it is indeed completely summed up in *Religious Musings*.

The principles of Unity and Necessity fairly jostle each other in rivalry for the first place in the reader's attention. As to Unity, the poet repeatedly suggests that "one Omnipresent Mind," whose "most holy name is Love," is diffused through all things; that in the "meek Saviour," "whose life was Love," is the only perfect revelation of the Godhead; and that when men are filled with this love they come to know themselves as "parts and portions of one wondrous whole." In one passage, for example, the poet speaks of the soul soaring to perfect Love,

Attracted and absorbed: and centered there
God only to behold, and know, and feel,
Till by exclusive consciousness of God
All self-annihilated it shall make
God its Identity: God all in all!
We and our Father one!

Just at this point, however, the idea of Unity is crowded out by that of Necessity, or Predestination; for the passage continues:

And blest are they,
Who in this fleshly World, the elect of Heaven,
Their strong eye darting through the deeds of men,
Adore with steadfast unpresuming gaze
Him Nature's essence, mind, and energy!
And gazing, trembling, patiently ascend
Treading beneath their feet all visible things
As steps, that upward to their Father's throne
Lead gradual—else nor glorified nor loved.

"Thus from the Elect, regenerate through faith, pass the

dark passions," repeats the poet forty lines forward, and declares that the Predestined are "by supernal grace enrobed with Light, and naturalized in Heaven," becoming one with the Father, which is "the Messiah's destined victory." So the poet constantly passes from Unity to Necessity and back again, thus closely interweaving the two ideas in the poem.

Though the poem is speculative throughout, the poet aims to bring its philosophy to bear directly upon the religious, political, and social evils of the day; he attempts to "cope with the tempest's swell" of "these tumultuous times"; and he strikes with all the energy of undisciplined genius. He vigorously attacks the "Fiends of Superstition, that film the eye of Faith, hiding the present God," "diffused through all, that doth make all one whole"; the unbeliever is a sordid solitary thing.

Feeling himself, his own low self the whole;
When he by sacred sympathy might make
The whole one Self!

The poet mentions a specific offence against this religion—the refusal, in January 1794, of the House of Lords to accept a proffered peace from the French Republic. His wrath was kindled against those who held that the sole purpose of the war upon the French was the preservation of the Christian Religion. To mingle fiendish deeds with blessedness, to defend the "meek Galilaean," with his "mild laws of Love unutterable," by the scourge of war and the prayer of hate seemed to him nothing short of blasphemy.

He rouses himself even to greater indignation against the social evils of the day—"the innumerable multitude of wrongs by man on man inflicted." He expresses sympathy for orphans and poverty-stricken children, aged

women and poor widows, and men driven by want to deeds of blood—the wretched many “whom foul Oppression’s ruffian gluttony drives from life’s plenteous feast.”

But in spite of this severe arraignment of all the wrongs committed by man, the poet is convinced that there will soon be a rapid regeneration of mankind, and that in fact all evil is but temporary in character and really the immediate source of greater good. Thus from avarice, luxury, and war, he asserts, sprang heavenly Science, and from Science Freedom. Even the oppressors of mankind are beneficent instruments of Truth—

These, even these, in mercy didst thou form,
Teachers of Good through Evil, by brief wrong
MaKing Truth lovely.

Coleridge’s evil thus turns out to be no evil at all, but only a dream. His sense of the world’s wrong, entirely vague and theoretical, quickly gives way to the conception, so common in the last decades of the eighteenth century, that very shortly the human race shall be changed into a blessed brotherhood of man. Coleridge thus optimistically peoples the earth with “the vast family of Love,” each heart self-governed yet each belonging to the kingdom of Christ, and all parts of the one Omnipresent Mind. “A Necessitarian, I cannot possibly disesteem a man for his religious or anti-religious opinions—and as an *Optimist*, I feel diminish’d concern,”—so wrote Coleridge to Thelwall in 1796 in reference to *Religious Musings*. A true Necessitarian cannot blame a man for holding any given opinion, any more than he can blame a stone for lying where it lies—both positions being inevitable, and the one as remote from individual responsibility as the other. On the other hand, Coleridge’s principle that God is all and is Love left no room in his scheme for the existence of evil, and he logi-

cally became an unqualified optimist. So the poet concludes as he began, breathing "the empyreal air of Love, omnific, omnipresent Love":

Believe thou, O my soul,
Life is a vision shadowy of Truth!
And vice, and anguish, and the wormy grave,
Shapes of a dream!² The veiling clouds retire,
And lo! the Throne of the redeeming God
Forth flashing unimaginable day
Wraps in one blaze earth, heaven, and deepest hell.

Though Necessity and Unity are thus the dominating ideas in the poem, they are not the only ones in it; for Coleridge's mind was, from the first, essentially eclectic. Since the poet drew material from diverse sources of his extraordinarily wide reading, fragmentary and obscure parts are not fused with the leading ideas, and contradictions appear. However, this is no more than is to be expected from a youth of high enthusiasms and of great susceptibilities, who has not yet thoroughly assimilated all his materials. But the poet takes care that the divergent parts are kept subordinate to the main ideas.

We may here ask from whence did the young Coleridge get the principles of Unity and Necessity? The answer in its main outlines can be given briefly. As to Necessity, aside from what of Calvinistic theories of Predestination came to him through the ordinary channels, he got his ideas directly from eighteenth-century philosophers, among whom may be named: Hartley, naturalist and associational philosopher, who emphasized the theory that thought is corporeal and is motion, and who treated the mind as an automaton; Priestly, scientist and theologian, who in theology taught the doctrine of philosophical necessity;

² "I thank you for these lines in the name of a necessarian and for what follows in next paragraph, in the name of a child of fancy."
—Charles Lamb, in a letter to Coleridge, June 10, 1796.

and Godwin, whose *Political Justice*, published in 1793, claimed to base all its reasonings on the principle of Necessity. Godwin's influence is especially noticeable in those parts of the poem that discuss the social and revolutionary problems of the day. In 1795 Coleridge addressed a sonnet to Godwin, in which he asserts it was his voice that

Bade the bright form of Justice meet my way—
And told me that her name was Happiness.

Besides, it must always be remembered that in the eighteenth century poets and philosophers and divines thought much more commonly in terms of Necessity than in the nineteenth; whereas in the nineteenth they thought much more commonly in terms of Free-will. Pope's "Whatever is, is right," was a popular expression of an oft-repeated conception of eighteenth-century philosophy; while perhaps the profoundest expression of determinism was Jonathan Edwards's book attacking the Freedom of the Will (1754), which Godwin quotes approvingly so far as it bears on philosophical Necessity. It is to be expected that when Coleridge was disciplining his "young novice thought in ministeries of heart-stirring song," as he says in the poem, he would show that he had drunk deep from the prevailing philosophy of the preceding generation.

As to Unity, aside from what he gathered from such idealists as Plato, Plotinus, and Berkeley, he got his Unitarian ideas directly from the Bible, particularly from the writings of St. John. In the poem, such phrases as "His most holy name is Love," "Him whose life was Love," "In whose sight all things are pure," "We and our Father one," and still others, are direct echoes of the Fourth Gospel.³ In the notes, both those discarded from some of

³ The early Unitarians were literalists in interpreting the Scriptures, and naturally held the Gospel of St. John in high esteem.

the earlier editions and those that were permanently retained, he also shows a close affinity in thought to the Book of Revelation.

In short, the poet attempted to harmonize his own interpretations of the Scriptures with the teachings of his favorite authors—philosophers and theologians. It was a magnificent effort, but unsuccessful—because of the inconceivability of any one's combining in a single scheme the philosophy of Plato and of St. John with that of eighteenth-century Materialists and Necessitarians. Yet the poet did achieve a certain harmony—satisfactory, it seems, to the people of his time—as, for example, to Charles Lamb—by blending the principles of Necessity and Unity.⁴ Temperamentally Coleridge was easily in-

But later this Gospel grew in disfavor with them because it emphasizes the Divinity of Christ. Coleridge, however, never followed the Unitarians very closely, either in their early literalism, or in their rejection of the Divinity of Christ. He always retained a profound reverence for the Gospel of St. John. See the quotation near the end of this article from Notes on the Book of Common Prayer, also *Table Talk*, June 6, 1830: "It is delightful to think, that the beloved apostle was born a Plato," etc.

*Priestly made an almost identical combination of Necessity and Unity in his philosophy. A recent commentator, C. C. Everett, in *Immortality, and Other Essays*, says of him:—"His belief in necessity was simply an intense form of faith in God. Since everything was determined by God, what place is there for grief or anxiety? It was a marvel to his childlike mind that Calvinism, starting as it does from the thought of the sovereignty of God, could reach results so terrible. The sovereignty of God meant to him the sovereignty of a wise goodness. He believed that Calvinism thus carried at its heart a principle that would one day transform it into a system of beauty." It may be suspected but cannot be proved that Coleridge got his ideas ready-made from Priestly. First, there seems to be no direct evidence in the case. Secondly, it is well-nigh impossible to track Coleridge specifically in his borrowings, because of his subtly intermixing materials from various sources and of his interpenetrating them with something of his own. It appears he was only in general indebted to Priestly.

clined to try to reduce all things to one principle, to a Unity—that is, to see the One in the many. And while in emphasizing the principle of Necessity he was harking back to eighteenth-century ideas, in drawing upon the more ancient sources of the Bible and Plato for the mystical principle of Unity, and attempting to express it in terms of the emotions and the imagination, he anticipated the spirit of the nineteenth century, and so far became a prophet of what was to be.

In the brief poem *To A Friend*, written also in 1794, Coleridge asserts that nothing can be gained by prayer—an extreme form of Necessitarianism, since it presupposes that God has literally predetermined every detail of life:

He knows (the Spirit that in secret sees,
Of whose omniscient and all-spreading Love
Aught to implore were impotence of mind) —

Likewise in *The Eolian Harp* (1795) he conceives universal life as automatus:

And what if all of animated nature
Be but organic harps diversely framed,
That tremble into thought, as o'er them sweeps
Plastic and vast, one intellectual breeze,
At once the Soul of each, and God of all?

The fragmentary poem *The Destiny of Nations*, written in 1796, narrating the story of Joan of Arc, begins with a long invocation to “the Will, the Word, the Breath,—the Living God,” who is “Infinite Love.” It then lengthily explains that “the infinite myriads of self-conscious minds are one all conscious Spirit,” and that if men fancy there be rebellious spirits in the Universe that arrogate to themselves power over dark realms, these still teach hope and yet “train up to God.” For Fancy first unsensualizes the dark mind, giving it new delights and

teaching self-control "till Superstition with unconscious hand seat Reason on her throne." Thus all things in the universe, including superstition, and evil itself, help, in a necessitarian spirit, to "evolve the process of eternal good."

In the story Joan did not act upon her own initiative, "for a mighty hand was upon her." She went forth alone,

Urged by the indwelling angel-guide, that oft,
With dim inexplicable sympathies
Disquieting the heart, shapes out Man's course
To the pre-doomed adventure.

At the close the poet also pre-dooms, not only all Enthusiasts, however wild-eyed, but all Prophets, each to their respective fates, and hymns the praise of God:

All-conscious Presence of the Universe!
Nature's vast ever-acting Energy!
In will, in deed, Impulse of All to All! . . .
Glory to Thee, Father of Earth and Heaven!

In the preface to the *Ode on the Departed Year* (1796) the poet asserts that "the Ode commences with an address to the Divine Providence, that regulates into one vast harmony all the events of time, however calamitous some of them appear to mortals."

Thus the principles of harmony, unity, and optimism, governed by the law of Necessity, furnish the chief intellectual matter of these poems (1794-1796). They are all somewhat abstractly conceived, and their religion may be said to be a religion of opinion rather than of experience.

But in later poems (1797-8) we see the abstract ideas gradually becoming humanized. This was the period of the poet's finding himself, of change and growth, and especially of the deepening of his spirit. The breaking down of the scheme of Pantisocracy, upon which Coleridge had for a time staked his future, a serious rupture with

his most intimate friend, Southey, his marriage to Sarah Fricker—all of which events occurred in the latter part of 1795—his becoming father of children in 1796 and 1797, his ensuing struggles against serious financial difficulties, brought him rather suddenly face to face with actualities. His sense of responsibility for those dependent on him, which was strong during these years, wrought deeply on his naturally affectionate nature. It not only humanized, but simplified his religious outlook. Moreover, his acquaintance and ripening friendship with Wordsworth in 1796 and 1797 immensely quickened his intellectual powers, gave a profounder resonance to his emotional life, and deepened his sympathy for individual and concrete things in life and nature. As a result, the religious poems of 1797 and 1798 were born of personal experience rather than of abstract speculation. The same principles, as formerly, govern the poet's thought, but they are now rendered by suggestion, and are approached by some simple, deep-felt, personal emotion. The poems are just as religious in spirit, but not so obtrusively religious as the earlier ones. They show a more intimate touch with nature and a far finer sympathy with the concrete objects of nature. The abstract "God diffused through all" of the *Religious Musings* becomes in *Fears in Solitude* (1798) "All sweet sensations, all ennobling thoughts, all adoration of the God in nature," that keep "the heart awake to Love and Beauty"; or, as expressed in *This Lime-Tree Bower My Prison* (1797):

So my friend

Struck with deep joy may stand, as I have stood,
Silent with swimming sense; yea, gazing round
On the wide landscape, gaze till all doth seem
Less gross than bodily; and of such hues
As veil the Almighty Spirit, when yet he makes
Spirits perceive his presence.

It is to be noted especially in *Frost at Midnight* (1798) how from a very simple situation—himself and his cradled infant at the hearth-fire of his cottage—he rises without seeming effort through personal experience to a grand climax which expresses profoundly and religiously his conception of Unity:

For I was reared
In the great city, pent 'mid cloisters dim,
And saw nought lovely but the sky and stars.
But *thou*, my babe! shalt wander like a breeze
By lakes and sandy shores, beneath the crags
Of ancient mountain, and beneath the clouds,
Which image in their bulk both lakes and shores
And mountain crags: so shalt thou see and hear
The lovely shapes and sounds intelligible
Of that eternal language, which thy God
Utters, who from eternity doth teach
Himself in all, and all things in himself.
Great universal Teacher! he shall mould
Thy spirit, and by giving make it ask.

But the highest and final expression of the spirit of Unity and Necessity by Coleridge is to be found in the greatest poem of his life—*The Rime of the Ancient Mariner* (1797-8). This poem contains no reasoned religion, no obtrusive theological arguments, but merely the aroma, the fine flavor, the "breath and finer spirit" of the poet's religious meditations. And this almost against his will; for, as suggested in a note, he was consciously attempting to write a work of almost "pure imagination." His imagination, however, did not escape the shadow of all his previous religious musings, and the religious atmosphere of the poem is connected with the thought of all his earlier religious poems—is indeed its logical outcome.

Though dealing with other things besides religion, the poem is full of religious suggestiveness, whose source is not so much the supernatural machinery the poet uses, as

that which is represented as taking place in the heart of the mariner. With all its charm, subtilty, unearthly music, and wild adventure, the poem indicates distinguishable stages in the mariner's moral and religious experience. Not the least marvel of the poem is the complete success with which Coleridge has rendered a spiritual experience by means of relating so wild a tale of strange adventure. Or, to put it otherwise, the wonder is that he has, without doing violence to either, fused such a tale and such an experience into an harmonious whole. If the poem ought to have had no more moral than an Arabian Night's tale, as Coleridge himself once suggested, it would have had to be completely rewritten and one of its most unique qualities destroyed.

The thing which makes this blending of religious experience and marvellous adventure possible, and successful, is chiefly the character of the mariner—one of the most distinctive creations in modern literature. Perhaps the most striking characteristic of the mariner is that in the story he does not act but is constantly acted upon—a fact which Wordsworth considered a great defect, but which for the purpose of the poem, is no defect at all. After the mariner had killed the albatross—an impulsive rather than a deliberative act—spirits and powers, plastic and vast, conjured up by the poet from the ends of the earth, played upon his mind and conscience as on a harp. Though in telling his own story the mariner has power over the will of the wedding-guest and over any who may be “pre-doomed” to listen to him, yet this power comes to him as a visitation and is not in his keeping. He has no will of his own; he is passive to the powers outside himself and the new law of life revealed to him; that is, he is a true Necessitarian:

Forthwith this frame of mine was wrenched
With a woful agony,
Which forced me to begin my tale;
And then it left me free.

Since then, at an uncertain hour,
That agony returns:
And till my ghastly tale is told,
This heart within me burns.

I pass, like night, from land to land;
I have strange power of speech;
That moment that his face I see,
I know the man that must hear me:
To him my tale I teach.

In any other hands but those of Coleridge so passive a character would become insipid. But the mariner is saved from insipidity chiefly by the poet's communicating to him an unusual intensity of feeling. It is no doubt fitting that the ancient man should be "venerable, weather-beaten, and more or less oracular." It is also well that he has a glittering eye endowed with the power of fixing the attention of his listeners and of charming them, for a time, into that suspension of unbelief concerning the external events of the poem which constitutes poetic faith. But it is what goes on behind the glittering eye that really gives the eye its peculiar significance and power. It is what happens within the heart of the mariner that fixes him unforgettably in our imagination and makes him appeal to us humanly. Of the poem Charles Lamb wrote to Wordsworth: "I dislike all the miraculous parts of it, but the feeling of the man under the operation of such scenery, dragged me along like Tom Pipe's whistle. . . . The Ancient Mariner undergoes such trials as overwhelm and bury all individuality or memory of what he was—like the state of a man in a bad dream, one terrible peculiarity of which is, that all consciousness of personality is

gone." The audacity of Coleridge's art in portraying the character, we may say, was to offset his passivity with such an intensity of feeling that he was on the verge of losing the sense of his own identity. This inward intensity, derived from Coleridge's own inwardness of mind, is the chief source of that exalted and sustained lyricism that gives unusual freshness and perpetual charm to the poem.

Simplicity and child-likeness of spirit further atone for the mariner's passivity. Though the character is old and weather-beaten, he throws himself with the absolute faith and complete *abandon* of a child into the telling of his story. This utter single-mindedness of the mariner bewitches the wedding-guest, and also the reader. Coleridge drank deep of the spirit of the folk ballad, and at no point has he more completely caught the primitive spirit of the ballads than in their child-likeness. It was a difficult feat for the poet to keep his own thought within the circle of the mariner's mind and the mariner's thought within the circle of a child's mind. At places where the mariner approaches generalizations and is in the greatest danger of becoming sophisticated, his thought and language become utterly simple and naïve. Such, for example, is the familiar passage near the end of the poem which, though hackneyed by constant quotation, expresses, with artistic grace, the sum of the mariner's religious wisdom. The poem, in short, is the most superb example of sustained naïveté in the language.

The failure to recognize the naïve spirit sufficiently has caused some critics who have taken seriously the moral of the poem to interpret certain important incidents erroneously. The killing, for example, of an albatross that persisted in following a ship for nine days would be considered according to eighteenth-century ethics trivial; and according to the scientific ethics of the twentieth century

natural, or necessary, or, at any event, no great matter. But the mariner's ethics is that of a child. He killed the bird impulsively and wantonly. But when his fellow mariners attributed their fate and the fate of their ship, whether for good or evil, but chiefly for evil, to the killing of the albatross, and accounted the act a crime, he accepted without question their verdict; and straightway the crime became to him monstrous and overwhelming. He had no scale of values, and he suffered such intense agony as a child does when it is made to feel it has done an outrageously wicked thing, even though its compunction was of the slightest at the time of doing it. Perhaps no one has ever described more poignantly the prolonged agony that follows the inadvertent committal of a crime by an otherwise innocent person than has Coleridge, in the lines beginning with—

I looked to heaven, and tried to pray—

In truth, the sufferings and penances of the mariner are utterly out of proportion to the slightness of the crime. He is pursued by a dark and sinister fate. In his child-likeness he conceives the objects of nature as avenging personalities; the wind which drives the ship southward is the Storm Blast, tyrannous and strong, and the bloody and glorious Sun seems a living being, now appearing accusingly like a broad and burning face and now "like God's own head." The Moon and Stars and the Ocean are instinct with power and seem to conspire with the avenging Spirits against him. The only thing he can do is to lie passively under the terrifying strokes of fate and necessity. And because of the intensity of his feelings the mariner is the most effective, and because of his child-likeness he is the most attractive, Necessitarian in modern literature.

But the mariner is also a most engaging Unitarian. He

discourses sweetly and eloquently on the principle of universal love. To him, not good and evil, but love and loneliness are the two mighty contending forces in the Universe. In the story the mariner underwent an intense and suspended agony of spirit because of his separation, not merely from his comrades, but from the living world and from God:

So lonely 'twas that God Himself
Scarce seemed there to be.

To "abide alone" is more unendurable than flaming fire. But the mariner miraculously stood the test, although, as we have seen, he was all the while at the brink of losing consciousness of his own personality. At the same time he was intensely alive. The fate of his companions was a benediction as compared to the agony he endured in a living death. Those who hold that Coleridge violated poetic justice in the disposition he made of the crew either have a narrow conception of poetic justice or do not realize what it meant for the mariner to remain alive.

But love in the universe ultimately overcomes loneliness. The mariner had learned, not abstractly, but concretely, to love all things both great and small. And this wisdom of love, though childlike, had in Coleridge's day, and still has in ours, momentous implications. The eighteenth century had placed much emphasis on man's duty to man; it had taught that the proper study of mankind is man; it had sung the short and simple annals of the poor. But its teachings were based either on the principle of selfishness, which insisted that when you show kindness to your fellowmen you are advancing your own interests, or on the principle of benevolence, which was often quite cold-hearted and full of mock pity. The new age, however, insisted on the Christian principle of becoming as little children in order to enter the kingdom of heaven. The

note of it was struck in Blake's *Songs of Innocence*, its bearings worked out fully in the poems of Wordsworth, and its chief characteristics expressed in the person of the mariner by Coleridge. The new age also insisted that we have kinship, not merely with man, but with the whole animal creation. It may be urged that the instinctive affection a child shows for animals is based on an actual kinship with them, which is often ignored by adults, and was ignored especially by eighteenth-century philosophers. But this sense of kinship was asserted in the poetry of Cowper and of Burns; and in *The Ancient Mariner* Coleridge based it on the assumption that all creatures emanate from one Creator. This universal love gains its first victory in the poem when it is strong enough to make the mariner love the water-snakes. From that point it grows increasingly to the end, in larger and larger encircling reaches, till at last it embraces all living things in a sense of universal kinship, catching the mariner himself in its onward sweep, destining him in a necessitarian spirit to "pass, like night, from land to land" to tell the story of it, and causing him in particular to declare our universal human religious fellowship in one of the sweetest passages in our language, in the lines beginning with—

O sweeter than the marriage-feast—

Thus the spirit of *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner* is closely allied to the spirit of Coleridge's earlier religious poems. In *The Ancient Mariner* the poet, in his own inimitable manner, has given, in a rarefied etherealized form, the exhalations and aroma of his personal experience of Necessity and Unity, "the blossom and the fragrancy of all" his earlier religious meditations.⁵

⁵"Poetry is the blossom and the fragrancy of all human knowledge, human thought, human passions, emotions, language."—Coleridge, in *Biographia Literaria*, Chapter XV.

The Rime of the Ancient Mariner is also related to the earlier poems in the imagery it uses. In *The Destiny of Nations*, for example, the poet declares that since Fancy, by peopling the air with beings invisible, first unsensualizes the dark mind, he deems

Those legends terrible, with which
The polar ancient thrills his uncouth throng:
Whether of pitying Spirits that make their moan
O'er slaughter'd infants, or that giant bird
Vuokho, of whose rushing wings the noise
Is tempest, when the unutterable Shape
Speeds from the mother of Death, and utters once
That shriek, which never murderer heard, and lived.

Again, he says that in the far distant polar region

Dwells the fury Form, whose unheard name,
With eager eye, pale cheek, suspended breath
And lips half-opening with the dread of sound
Unsleeping Silence guards. . . . Yet the wizard her,
Armed with Torngarsuck's power, the Spirit of Good,
Forces to unchain the foodful progeny
Of the Ocean's stream.*

"Wild phantasies!" Coleridge ejaculates. Wild and crude they are for the making of poetry. Yet these ancients, wizards, pitying Spirits, unutterable Shapes, and fury Forms of the polar regions suggest the direct origin of much of the imagery in *The Ancient Mariner*, where they become things of beauty. In the earlier poems these spirits and powers have an educative influence on character, "teaching reliance, and medicinal hope," and leading toward faith and truth; to which purpose they are put, in a far finer spirit, in *The Ancient Mariner*.

Imagery similar to this is to be found in the prose frag-

*The original sources of these passages are books of travel and history, such as Cranz's *History of Greenland*. The use Coleridge makes of them is all his own.

ment, *The Wanderings of Cain* (1798), as for instance: "There was no spring, no summer, no autumn; and the winter's snow, that would have been lovely, fell not on these hot rocks and scorching sands,"—which reminds one of the "hot and copper sky" of *The Ancient Mariner*.

The hero Cain, like the mariner, is a passive character, being pursued by mighty Powers: "The Mighty One that persecuteth me is on this side and on that; he pursueth my soul like the wind, like the sand-blast he passeth through me; he is around me even as the air! . . . The torrent that roareth far off hath a voice; and the clouds in heaven look terribly on me; the Mighty One who is against me speaketh in the wind of the cedar grove; and in silence am I dried up." There is never a saint to take pity on Cain's soul in agony: "The spirit within me is withered, and burnt up with extreme agony."

In the first part of *Christabel*, written in 1797, Coleridge came nearer realizing his ideal of producing a poem of "pure imagination" than in *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner*. Yet the heroine, the lovely Christabel, like the mariner, inadvertently lays herself open to a sinister influence. Again like the mariner and like Cain, she is a passive character and is pursued and wrought upon by an evil spirit. This evil being—a witch in the form of a beautiful and oppressed maiden who apparently flings herself upon the mercy of Christabel—is more hideous and terrifying to the imagination than anything else conceived by Coleridge. By enacting spells the witch usurps power over the maiden's utterances and works indescribable confusion in her heart.

If the earlier poems were too obtrusively religious, as compared to the subtle implications of *The Ancient Mariner*, the first part of *Christabel* has almost fallen out of religion on the other side. It is extremely fragile and

verges on the shadowy and impalpable. In this direction, then, the evolution of Coleridge's mind has gone as far as possible.⁷ Later Coleridge added a second part, which, however, does not come up to the first in the qualities just mentioned. And because of the extreme fragility of the first part Coleridge afterwards was never able to write up to its level and therefore never able to complete the poem, though for a time he consciously willed to do so. Yet in atmosphere as well as in general structure it is very similar to *The Ancient Mariner*, its first part closing with three lines that might have appeared in that poem:

But this she knows, in joys and woes,
That saints will aid if men will call:
For the blue sky bends over all!

Had not Wordsworth suggested to Coleridge in *The Ancient Mariner* the incident of killing the albatross as a motive for punishing the mariner, it is doubtful whether Coleridge would have thought it necessary; for certainly in *Christabel*, a parallel case, the heroine has done nothing to merit the malignant persecution of the witch. In both cases Coleridge conceived that the sublime law of Necessitarian indifference would do its work effectively. For the verisimilitude to life in this principle he would have pointed to the manner in which his own footsteps had been dogged by an untoward fate.

Thus in this period Coleridge created none but passive, necessitarian-like characters, who are pursued by Shapes, Forms, Powers, Destinies, etc.; and wherever the story is completed the character is redeemed by universal love, and is reconciled to his world, the blue sky bending over all.

⁷ It may be said that *Kubla Khan* (1798) advances a step farther. But from it have vanished logical structure and discoverable sequence of ideas; what remains is a fragment of pure esthetic luxury.

What was asserted rather crudely as religious opinion of Necessity and Unity in the early poems was swiftly transmuted into spiritual implications and expressed with subtle suggestiveness in the poems written in those few short years that constituted the flowering period of Coleridge's poetic genius.

II

TRANSCENDENTALISM

Late in his life Coleridge wrote concerning a poem of his youth, *The Destiny of Nations*, composed 1796: "Within twelve months after the writing of this Poem, my bold Optimism, and Necessitarianism, together with the *Infra*, seu plusquam-Socinianism, down to which, step by step, I had *un*believed, gave way to the day-break of a more genial and less shallow system. But I contemplate with pleasure these Phases of my Transition." Since Coleridge was often inaccurate concerning dates in his own life, it may be doubted whether this great change in his religious experience came as early as 1797 and as suddenly as he declares; for we have seen that the idea of Necessity continued to appear in his poems and writings after that time. The change seems to have come gradually and is not distinctly marked until around 1799, and later.

The first unmistakable sign of his change of heart is his attack upon the merely passive character of his former religious beliefs. In a letter to Thomas Poole, written early in 1801, he says: "Newton was a mere materialist. *Mind*, in his system, is always *passive*,—a lazy *Looker-on* on an external world. If the mind be not *passive*, if it be indeed made in God's Image, and that, too, in the sublimest sense, the *Image of the Creator*, there is ground for suspicion that any system built on the passiveness of the mind

must be false as a system.”⁸ In another letter to Poole, written within a few days of the foregoing, he says: “If I do not greatly delude myself, I have not only *completely extricated the notion of time and space*, but have overthrown the doctrine of association, as taught by Hartley, and with it all the irreligious metaphysics of modern infidels—especially the doctrine of necessity.” He thus repudiates not only an important phase of his earlier religious beliefs, but also his former teachers, on the basis of belief in the existence of a free, active energy in the mind of man; he is so far already committed to the transcendental principle.

Again, in 1803 he wrote concerning a certain necessitarian passage (written in 1794) as follows: “I utterly recant the sentiment contained in the lines—

* Against the Necessitarian, materialistic, and associational philosophies of the eighteenth century this charge of passiveness is made again and again in Coleridge’s later writings—*The Friend*, *Biographia Literaria*, etc. It is striking that he should have made it so unequivocally thus early in this letter. He had remarkable prescience of truth which needed only the confirmation of other writers to bring it to maturity. One therefore can sympathize with his resentment against all attacks on him of plagiarism.

As if to make his renunciation irrevocable Coleridge a few years later (1804) again wrote to Poole: “I love and honour you, Poole, for many things; scarcely for anything more than that, trusting firmly in the rectitude and simplicity of your own heart, and listening with faith to its revealing voice, you never suffered either my subtlety, or my eloquence, to proselyte you to the pernicious doctrine of Necessity. All praise to the Great Being, who has graciously enabled me to find my way out of that labyrinth-den of sophistry, and I would fain believe, to bring with me a better clue than has hitherto been known to enable others to do the same.” It might seem strange or absurd that a poet should feel an abasement of spirit for having held a certain metaphysical doctrine. But Coleridge was keenly aware that when he renounced this doctrine he was renouncing the whole trend and body of English thought from John Locke to William Godwin, and that a duty had been laid upon himself to find at least a working hypothesis to take its place.

Of whose omniscient and all-spreading Love
Aught to *implore* were impotence of mind,

it being written in Scripture, 'Ask, and it shall be given you,' and my human reason being moreover convinced of the propriety of offering *petitions* as well as thanksgiving to Deity." He thus accepted belief in Free-will; but only, it seems, after he had woven such strong threads of evil habits about his life that most of his career then seemed a sort of fatal necessity.

This new transcendental attitude of mind is indicated in a poem as early as 1799—*Lines Written in the Hartz Forest*. The theme of the poem is expressed in the lines—

For I had found
That outward forms, the loftiest, still receive
Their finer influence from the Life within;—
Fair cyphers else; fair, but of import vague
Or unconcerning.

He illustrates this by saying that though standing on the height of the Brocken in Germany his eye shaped before him in the steady clouds the sands and high white cliffs of England (which he loved) so vividly that all the view

From sovran Brocken, woods and woody hills,
Floated away, like a departing dream,
Feeble and dim!

Thus outward forms depend, for their beauty, upon what the perceiving mind contributes to them; mind is the active agency in determining the nature and quality of perception. The poet asserts that this matter must not be taken lightly, although he humbly admits that that man shows a sublimer spirit who can feel

That God is everywhere! the God who framed
Mankind to be one mighty family,
Himself our Father, and the World our Home.

Not a little interest may be attached to the fact that this poem, which for the first time in Coleridge's poetry expresses the transcendental conception of the might of the mind, should have been written in Germany, whither the poet had gone to study German philosophy. Yet it is practically certain that at this time he had but the slightest knowledge of Kant. Still, a meager knowledge only of that author together with the growth of his own many-sided interests would be sufficient to account for his having arrived at the sense of the shallowness of his former conceptions, especially as regards Necessity, or the passiveness of the mind.

And now, having outgrown the superficialities of his eighteenth-century teachers, Coleridge, at about the age of thirty, mature and unusually endowed and equipped, stood at the threshold of a period in which we should expect him to become the great transcendental and religious poet of his age. But in this we are almost completely disappointed. There are only a few straggling poems as a record of his achievement. His prose, upon which he spent his greatest efforts, is also fragmentary.

Various reasons have been assigned for Coleridge's failure in poetry. Some of them are obvious, others more subtle. Rheumatism and other physical ailments, and the use of opium, which became a confirmed habit with him about 1801, go far in explaining the failure. Subtler and even more potent causes were a congenital weakness of will and the lack of any sure anchorage in home affections.

Perhaps a more serious cause was a strong natural tendency in Coleridge toward the abstract. Stopford Brooke says that Coleridge had the power, in a far greater degree than other poets, of "impassionating himself about intellectual conceptions." This is true of Coleridge up to about 1799, but not thereafter. Indeed, he later more than

once expressed a yearning for just this power, which had now left him. Two essential and indispensable feelings had departed—joy and hope. Without these he could not impassionate himself even about intellectual conceptions. For

Work without Hope draws nectar in a sieve,
And Hope without an object cannot live.

(*Work Without Hope*, 1827)

We have already seen that there was a tendency to abstractions in Coleridge's earliest poetry, but that a little later he succeeded in rendering these in his best poetry in terms of concrete representation, imaginative suggestion, and deep feeling. But now, bereft of some essential feelings, he swung more strongly than ever toward abstractions. It was not that at a certain time in his life he began the study of German metaphysics which destroyed the poet in him, as so many critics declare—his own new position, "we receive but what we give," refutes the critics—it was simply that in the long run his original natural impulse to abstractions was stronger in him than the impulse to concrete poetical representation. Coleridge's prime interest in life was religion; but a man who would be the poet of a transcendental religion must look well to the simple, emotional, and picturing side of his art. The great central antinomy which lies at the root of Coleridge's prose—the superiority of Reason over mere Understanding—he was not able to render successfully into story, incident, and poetic imaginings.

Moreover, as regards poetic method, Coleridge had perfected his art between the years 1794 and 1799. We saw how in that period his imagination made use of witches, wizards, polar spirits, etc., in a crude way in the earlier poems, but in a way nothing short of marvellous in *The Ancient Mariner* and *Christabel*. This imagery was

perfectly adapted to that kind of poetry. Coleridge's use of it had become a habit, which was not easily to be shaken off. But this method of poetic representation was in no wise suited to a serious religious poetry that was to exalt the free powers of the mind and soul of man. It was almost literally necessary that he begin again at the beginning to develop an appropriate poetical method. No wonder that his "shaping spirit of Imagination" could not adapt itself to his new material and his new way of thinking!⁹

Most of these failings are attested by Coleridge himself in the poem *Dejection: An Ode*, written in 1802. This poem also gives the fullest expression to be found in his poetry of the transcendental principle. Around the statement of this principle, set in the center of the poem, the poet weaves his personal experiences, which, in turn, are set against an external background of evening and night, gradually shifting from an ominous calm to a raging storm.

The poet is possessed with a feeling of dull pain; the western sky, clouds, stars, and the moon can make no impression on his failing spirits:

I see them all so excellently fair,
I see, not feel, how beautiful they are!

His capacity for thinking remains unimpaired; but the sources of his feelings are dried up,—he cannot get relief from external Nature:

⁹ Those who suppose that if his poetical powers had remained unimpaired Coleridge would have continued writing *Ancient Mariners* and *Christabels* imagine a vain thing. He never had an exalted opinion of *The Ancient Mariner* and did not publish *Christabel* until urged by Byron. In fact, these poems did not represent for him the highest truth of life after 1799.

I may not hope from outward forms to win
The passion and the life, whose fountains are within.

Therefore it naturally follows that

O Lady! we receive but what we give,
And in our life alone does Nature live; . . .
Ah! from the soul itself must issue forth
A light, a glory, a fair luminous cloud
 Enveloping the Earth—
And from the soul itself must there be sent
 A sweet and potent voice, of its own birth,
Of all sweet sounds the life and element!

This generalization, which may be said to be the theme of the poem, is as radical transcendentalism as some of the poet's earlier conceptions were radical necessitarianism. The mind now is not an automaton, but an original creative force; nature becomes a mirror, a mere mechanical instrument, in which man's mind can reflect itself. All the color, warmth, beauty, life, and life's effluence, which we usually ascribe to outer Nature, are really derived from some inward energy of the soul.

Now this energizing force, this inward light, "this beautiful and beauty-making power" of the soul, the poet goes on to say, is Joy:

Joy, Lady! is the spirit and the power,
Which wedding Nature to us gives in dower
 A new Earth and new Heaven,
Undreft of by the sensual and the proud—
Joy is the sweet voice, Joy the luminous cloud—
 We in ourselves rejoice!
And thence flows all that charms or ear or sight,
 All melodies the echoes of that voice,
All colours a suffusion from that light.

There was a time when the poet's joy dallied with distress, yet hope still remained with him. Now, however, both joy and hope have fled:

But now afflictions bow me down to earth:
Nor care I that they rob me of my mirth;
But oh! each visitation
Suspends what nature gave me at my birth,
My shaping spirit of Imagination.

Abstruse research, he says, became his sole resource, his only plan,

Till that which suits a part infects the whole,
And now is almost grown the habit of my soul.

The poet is aroused from his reverie by the ravings of the night-wind, which symbolizes his own mental unrest and peoples his mind with wild phantasies of a mad host in rout and of a little child lost in a storm. He concludes by pronouncing upon the Lady of the poem that benediction of joy which he himself does not possess. But here we must quote the poem as it originally appeared, which was addressed throughout, not to a Lady, but to the poet Wordsworth:

O rais'd from anxious dread and busy care,
By the immenseness of the good and fair
Which thou see'st everywhere,
Joy lifts thy spirit, joy attunes thy voice,
To thee do all things live from pole to pole,
Their life the eddying of thy living soul!
O simple spirit, guided from above,
O lofty Poet, full of life and love,
Brother and friend of my devoutest choice,
Thus may'st thou ever, evermore rejoice!

The importance of this poem in Coleridge's spiritual history cannot easily be overestimated. The poet may be taken at his word, although literalness must not be carried too far. For instance, it is not to be concluded that Coleridge did not live many pleasant days after he had written this poem. Nevertheless it is strictly true that the kind of joy necessary for the working of his creative imagination

never returned to him. Abstruse research, abstract reasonings, were the only substitutes possible. Had he had a profound conviction, such as Poe's, that sorrow and melancholy are the best themes for poetry, he undoubtedly could have written many marvellous poems in a doleful spirit. But like Wordsworth he held that truly creative art must be inspired by joy, that poetry is the spontaneous overflow of powerful emotions. The poet, Coleridge held, must be full of life and love, must have a sense of the immenseness of the good and fair; he must "bring the whole soul of man into activity, with the subordination of its faculties to each other according to their relative worth and dignity" ¹⁰—imagination, will, intellect, emotion; not only must he have fine perceptions of spiritual truth, but his soul must be able, by an inward active energy, to create even the life and the element of what it perceives. The contrast between this high transcendental and spiritual conception as an ideal of his art and the utterly depressing mood and waning power of the poet himself, at the age of thirty, is as pathetic as anything in literary history. With a grace equal to its pathos he deferred to one who he deemed had the requisite qualifications—Wordsworth.

Seldom thereafter did he allow himself to sing in a strain similar to this—once in the poem *To William Wordsworth*, written in 1807, after he had read Wordsworth's *Prelude*. Here he asserts again the transcendental principle of the self-determining power of the mind, "the dread watch-tower of man's absolute self," as he describes Wordsworth's singing of

Currents self-determined, as might seem,
Or by some inner Power; of moments awful,

¹⁰ *Biographia Literaria*. See the whole passage, close of chapter XIV.

Now in thy inner life, and now abroad,
 When power streamed from thee, and thy soul received
 The light reflected, as the light bestowed.

In sharp contrast to this conception is Coleridge's own mood of

Fears self-willed, that shunned the eye of hope;
 And hope that scarce would know itself from fear;
 Sense of past youth, and manhood come in vain,
 And genius given, and knowledge won in vain.

These passages are strikingly similar to the corresponding passages in *Dejection: An Ode*,¹¹ only, the disparity between the poet's ideal and his prevailing mood is even greater here than in the earlier poem. He recognizes with bitterness the impossibility of ever realizing his ideal in poetry. Yet he consoles himself with the thought that

Peace is nigh
 Where wisdom's voice has found a listening heart.

But in poetry the world demands a producer, not a listener. However, if Coleridge could not produce the poetry his heart could pronounce good, he would remain silent; and silent he remained as a poet almost literally the rest of his life.

*Hymn Before Sunrise, in the Vale of Chamouni*¹² (1802), five years earlier than *To William Wordsworth* and about the same time as *Dejection: An Ode*, aims to be more specifically religious than the other two poems, and shows a strong tendency toward the abstract:

¹¹ The passages beginning respectively with, "O Lady! we receive but what we give," and, "But now afflictions bow me down to earth."

¹² For his conception Coleridge was indebted to the poem *Chamouni at Sun-rise*, by Frederike Brun, a German poetess. But Coleridge, as DeQuincey said, "created the dry bones of the German outlines into fulness of life."

O dread and silent Mount! I gazed upon thee,
 Till thou, still present to the bodily sense,
 Didst vanish from my thought: entranced in prayer
 I worshipped the Invisible alone.

The poet's Thought, or Reason, comes into perfect union with God,

Till the dilating Soul, enrapt, transfused,
 Into the mighty vision passing—there
 As in her natural form, swelled vast to Heaven!

In *Dejection: An Ode* Coleridge conceives the finer aspects of Nature as possessing what the mind of man contributes to them; in *Hymn Before Sunrise* he asserts a complementary truth, namely, that Nature herself is but a tool, a mouth-piece, of the Mind of the Divine. The stupendous mountain, the wild torrents thundering down the "precipitous, black, jagged rocks," the vale beneath, all gorgeously described, are but so many voices attesting the omnipotence of God:

Thou kingly Spirit throned among the hills,
 Thou dread ambassador from Earth to Heaven,
 Great Hierarch! tell thou the silent sky,
 And tell the stars, and tell yon rising sun
 Earth, with her thousand voices, praises God.

The Mind of God and the Reason of Man are the two sovereign entities of existence; the objects of Nature are but the reflex of either:

Whene'er the mist, that stands 'twixt God and thee,
 Defecates to a pure transparency,
 That intercepts no light and adds no stain—
 There Reason is, and then begins her reign! ²³

Hymn Before Sunrise is full of exclamatory sentences, suggesting that the poet had difficulty in lifting his emo-

²³ But he also quotes Dante to the effect that such Reason is unattainable.

tions and style to the height of his great argument. And unless interfused by correspondingly deep emotions its profound abstract conception yields more fruit for prose than for poetry.

Both the expressed and the suggested transcendental ideas in the poems we have just been considering are fully drawn out in *The Friend*, a series of essays published as a weekly periodical in 1809 and 1810, and revised and published in book form in 1818. The display of immense learning and wide reading, the unusually large number of latinized words and complicated sentences, the extraordinary subtile and abstract reasonings, show that Coleridge gave free rein to that intellectual and abstracting power of the mind for which he was famed among his contemporaries.

By 1809 Coleridge was deeply immersed in the study of German metaphysics, which confirmed and helped to develop his own transcendental philosophy. Though for a time Schelling was in the ascendancy, Kant in the long run was the most important influence. The works of Kant, Coleridge frankly asserts in *Biographia Literaria*, "took possession of me as with the giant's hand." Kant gave him the conviction of the essential difference between Reason and Understanding—a fundamental position in *The Friend*. But Coleridge was no mere imitator of Kant. For his great principle of method he was indebted to Plato and Bacon as well as to Kant. To Coleridge, whose reasonings, though subtile, were never rigidly logical, Plato's 'Ideas,' Bacon's 'Laws,' and Kant's 'Intuitive Reason' were all very much the same.¹⁴ And with them he interwove something distinctly his own.¹⁵

¹⁴ "That which, contemplated objectively (that is, as existing externally to the mind), we call a law; the same contemplated subjectively (that is, as existing in a subject or mind), is an idea.

Though *The Friend* was too cumbrous to achieve with the reading public either an immediate or an ultimate success, its general drift is at once clear and positive. Its aim, vigorously stated by the author in parts of two sentences, is "to support all old and venerable truths; and by them to support, to kindle, to protect the spirit; to make the reason spread light over our feelings, to make our feelings, with their vital warmth, actualize our reason;"—"to refer men's opinions to their absolute principles,¹⁶ and thence their feelings to the appropriate objects and in their due degrees; and finally, to apply the principles thus ascertained to the formation of steadfast convictions concerning the most important questions of politics, morality, and religion." The venerable truths of the Bible, of the Ancient Classics, and of Elizabethan and Puritan poets and statesmen and divines¹⁷ are mar-

Hence Plato often names ideas laws; and Lord Bacon, the British Plato, describes the laws of the material universe as the ideas in nature."—Coleridge in *Constitution of Church and State*.

¹⁶ In addition to the reason already given why it is almost impossible to track Coleridge in his borrowings from numberless authors, is his conception of the nature of truth. First: "I regard truth as a divine ventriloquist: I care not from whose mouth the sounds are supposed to proceed, if only the words are audible and intelligible." Secondly, he conceived truth as a process and a growth, and his own intellect as in a state of development, and therefore changing. Those who try to specify narrowly his indebtedness are inevitably driven to use such words as 'probably,' 'perhaps,' 'reasonable to suppose,' etc.

¹⁸ The words 'refer,' 'ground,' 'bottom,' 'deduce,' used in the sense of grounding or bottoming opinions in principles, or of deducing them from principles, are great favorites with Coleridge.

¹⁷ "Conscious that in upholding some principles both of taste and philosophy, adopted by the great men of Europe, from the middle of the fifteenth till toward the close of the seventeenth century, I must run counter to many prejudices of many of my readers,—" Wordsworth is the only contemporary quoted approvingly, and in the 1818 edition he is quoted oftener than any other single writer.

shalled to do service in the cause of a transcendental religion.

The absolute principle in man, which gives him ultimate assurance of his higher spiritual and religious nature, in which his experiences must be grounded, and to which all his opinions must be referred, is Reason:

Reason! best and holiest gift of God and bond of union with the giver;—the high title by which the majesty of man claims precedence above all other living creatures;—mysterious faculty, the mother of conscience, of language, of tears, and of smiles;—calm and incorruptible legislator of the soul, without whom all its other powers would “meet in oppugnancy”;—sole principle of permanence amid endless change,—in a world of discordant appetites and imagined self-interests the only common measure. . . . Thou alone, more than even the sunshine, more than the common air, art given to all men, and to every man alike (Section I, Essay II).

Reason is absolute, and therefore “is the same in all men, is not susceptible of degree:” it is impersonal, making men “feel within themselves a something ineffably greater than their own individual nature;” it is the organ of the supersensuous and of an inward sense, therefore it has “the power of acquainting itself with invisible realities or spiritual objects”; it implies free-will and conscience, giving “to every rational being the right of acting as a free agent, and of finally determining his conduct by his own will, according to his own conscience.” “Man must be free; or to what purpose was he made a spirit of reason, and not a machine of instinct? Man must obey; or wherefore has he a conscience? The powers, which create this difficulty, contain its solution likewise: for their service is perfect freedom.”

A faculty in man lower than reason and sharply distinguished from it is the understanding,—the instrument, so to speak, of reason. For “reason never acts by itself, but must clothe itself in the substance of individual under-

standing and specific inclination, in order to become a reality and an object of consciousness and experience." The understanding is not absolute but relative, "possessed in very different degrees by different persons," according to their enlightenment by past experience and immediate observation; it is not impersonal but personal, "the whole purport and functions of which consist in individualization, in outlines and differencings by quantity and relation"; it is not an organ of the supersensuous, but "a faculty of thinking and forming judgments on the notices furnished by sense," selecting, organizing, and generalizing; it does not imply free-will, but acts within the laws of cause and effect with reference to prudence and practical expediency.

Lower than the understanding in man are the organs of sense: "Under the term 'sense' I comprise," says Coleridge, "whatever is passive in our being, without any reference to the question of materialism or immaterialism; all that man is in common with animals, in kind at least—his sensations, and impressions" ¹⁸ (Section I, Essay III).

From these principles as a working basis Coleridge attempts to interpret the ultimate realities of politics, morality, and religion. As to politics, government is a science of relativity, which concerns itself with the owner-

¹⁸ "When I make a threefold distinction in human nature, I am fully aware, that it is a distinction, not a division, and that in every act of mind the man unites the properties of sense, understanding, and reason. Nevertheless it is of great practical importance, that these distinctions should be made and understood. . . . They are more than once expressed, and everywhere supposed, in the writings of St. Paul. I have no hesitation in undertaking to prove, that every heresy which has disquieted the Christian Church, from Trinitarianism to Socinianism, has originated in and supported itself by arguments rendered plausible only by the confusion of these faculties, and thus demanding for the objects of one, a sort of evidence appropriated to those of another faculty" (Section I, Essay III).

ship and distribution of property, and with the physical well-being and the security of the individuals who make up a nation. To gain these ends "we must rely upon our understandings, enlightened by past experiences and immediate observation, and determining our choice by comparisons of expediency," giving heed to "particular circumstances, which will vary in every different nation, and in the same nation at different times." That is, the understanding, rather than reason, must be the chief active faculty to determine the affairs of government. It follows, on the one hand, that man is not to be governed by fear, or the power of the stronger, as though he were a mere creature of the senses; and, on the other, that man cannot, in the political aspect, be governed by 'pure reason,' which is absolute, impersonal, and transcendental. The system of Hobbes is an example of the former, which Coleridge dismisses with contempt as a system that "applies only to beasts."¹⁹ An example of the latter is Rousseau's *Social Contract*, which mistakenly exalts matters of the understanding, relative, personal, prudential, into the realm of pure reason, thus giving unlimited range to a wild and dangerous individualism. Reason, grounded in morality and conscience, is not possessed by men collectively, but by individuals.²⁰ It is a wise govern-

¹⁹ Hobbes's system "denies all truth and distinct meaning of the words, right and duty; and affirming that the human mind consists of nothing but the manifold modifications of passive sensations, considers men as the highest sort of animals indeed, but at the same time the most wretched."—This is one of the many severe strictures of Coleridge on all systems in which "at all events the minds of men were to be sensualized" and reduced to a passive state.

²⁰ Coleridge does ample justice to Rousseau's disquisitions on pure reason and free-will as inalienable qualities in man's being. But these high powers must not be abased to the use of expediency and worldly prudence which are primarily requisite in matters of gov-


ment that recognizes the inviolability of this reason in individuals and makes no regulations to interfere with its freedom. It will content itself "to regulate the outward actions of particular bodies of men, according to their particular circumstances," being guided largely by the enlightened intelligence of its public men. Thus reason acts as a constant corrective on the various phases of governmental changes and growth; so that

The dignity of human nature will be secured, and at the same time a lesson of humility taught to each individual, when we are made to see that the universal necessary laws, and pure ideas of reason, were given us not for the purpose of flattering our pride, and enabling us to become national legislators; but that, by an energy of continued self-conquest we might establish a free and yet absolute government in our own spirits (Section I, Essay III).²¹

It is, then, by the cultivation of individual morality and religion rather than by politics that the impersonal and absolute reason residing in the breast of every human being may incorporate itself in a thousand forms in all the inclinations and activities of the personal and relative understandings of men, and through their understandings subdue and regulate the life of their senses, thus devel-

ernment. Therefore Rousseau's system, he argues, "as an exclusive total, is under any form impracticable."

²¹ The changes in Coleridge's political views correspond to the changes in his religious development. In 1795, when he was in strong sympathy with the French Revolution, he recommended, in his Bristol address, "a practical faith in the doctrine of philosophical Necessity" as a panacea for the troubled times. In 1798, when he had lost faith in the leadership of France for liberty, he expressed the doubt, in *France: An Ode*, whether liberty could make its home anywhere but in the realm of Nature—"nor ever didst breathe thy soul in forms of human power." In 1809 he expressed the idea that true liberty is to be wrought out, not by means of political legislation, but in the souls of men in a transcendental spirit of self-conquest. Political government is thus the outcome, not the cause, of liberty.



oping men to their highest capacities and making them free indeed.

Morality and religion are essentially one. They "cannot be disjoined without the destruction of both." Whenever they are partially disjoined it invariably follows that a short-sighted scheme of prudence, based on the mere evidence of "sensible concretes," the rule of expediency, "which properly belongs to one and the lower part of morality," will be made the whole. To substitute this worldly prudence "for the laws of reason and conscience," Coleridge says, "or even to confound them under one name, is a prejudice, say rather a profanation, which I became more and more reluctant to flatter by even an appearance of assent." Reason, therefore, the organ of the supersensuous and transcendental, with all that it implies of conscience, free-will, and faith,²² is the sole arbiter of the inseparable forces of our moral and religious experience.

Philosophy, understood and pursued in the right spirit, is an important aid to religion. The aim of philosophy is to discover the absolute principles of existence, to find for all that exists conditionally "a ground that is unconditional and absolute, and thereby to reduce the aggregate of human knowledge to a system." But to reason at all on principles of the absolute the mind must have some kind of power to go out of its individual, personal self, and must think and act in accord with some discoverable method. By his emphasis on the science of method and on mental initiative as a prerequisite to all experiments

²² "What is faith, but the personal realization of the reason by its union with the will?" (Section II, Essay II). "Faith is a total act of the soul: it is the whole state of the mind, or it is not at all; and in this consists its power, as well as its exclusive worth" (Section I, Essay xv).

and investigations Coleridge felt he had made his most distinctive contribution to religious philosophy.

This principle of method is operative in our hourly and daily experiences, is the condition of our intellectual progress, and may "be said even to constitute the science of education, alike in the narrowest and in the most extensive sense of the word." The educated man is superior to the uneducated in this, that by a previous act and conception of the mind he selects with method the relative from the irrelative, the significant from the insignificant. Dame Quickly's want of method, old Polonius's form of method without its substance, and Hamlet's superb method when he is at his best, are examples of Shakespeare's mastery of this fundamental "principle of progressive transition." In short, all the failures in education may be ascribed to the "inattention to the method dictated by nature herself, to the simple truth, that as the forms in all organized existence, so much all true and living knowledge proceeds from within."

In scientific and speculative thought the prime materials of method are the relations of objects, and the contemplation of relations is the indispensable condition of thinking methodically. There are two kinds of relations—that of law and that of theory. The first is of "the absolute kind which, comprehending in itself the substance of every possible degree, precludes from its conception all degree, not by generalization, but by its own plenitude"; it is an attribute of the Supreme Being, inseparable from the idea of God, and from it must be derived all true insight into all other grounds and principles necessary to method. The second is a process of generalization and supposes the ideas of cause and effect, being illustrated in the scientific arts of medicine, chemistry, and physiology. Between the first (law as absolute)

and the second (theory as relative) lies the method in the fine arts, which outwardly are governed by the position of parts and mechanical relations, etc., while inwardly they contain that which originates in the artist himself and which partakes of the absolute. Thus it is implied that the first relation is of higher value than the second, that the results obtainable by the second are at best but approximations of the first.

In philosophy Plato most perfectly illustrated the principles of mental initiative and of method. The larger and more valuable of Plato's works have one common end—"to establish the sources, to evolve the principles, and exemplify the art of method. . . . The education of the intellect, by awakening the principle and method of self-development was his proposed object, not any specific information that can be conveyed into it from without." But this mental initiative, which is reason itself, has its ultimate source in a supersensual essence, the pre-establisher of the harmony between the laws of matter and the ideas of pure intellect. Thus for Plato philosophy ends in religion.

By showing that these same principles of method and of intellectual intuition—*lumen siccum*—were fundamental in Bacon's philosophic works Coleridge effected the so-called reconciliation of Plato and Bacon. Their very differences—that Plato sought the truth by applying the principle of method to the intellect, and that Bacon sought it by applying the principle of method to nature—tends only to accentuate the fact that their principles at bottom are one and the same.

Indeed the reconciliation of Plato and Bacon is but one instance of the larger use Coleridge aims to make of the principle of method. He employs it as the means of reconciling all opposites. "Extremes meet" is to him a

divine aphorism. "All method supposes a principle of unity with progression; in other words, progressive transition without breach of continuity." Even in the world of the senses an organism exists only by virtue of possessing "corresponding opposites" held in unity, and derives its character from an antecedent method of self-organizing purpose, the impulse of which comes from something above nature and is transcendental.²³ Likewise man's understanding grows by a similar process of reconciling "opposite yet interdependent forces," whose organizing impulse is derived from pure reason. The similarity of the processes in nature and in the understanding makes it possible for the understanding to comprehend nature; thus by constant self-effort in experimenting and generalizing the understanding is led to comprehend gradually and progressively the relation of each to the other, of each to all—to perceive the world in unity and arrive at a general affirmation of the reality of a supreme being.

But here the understanding (the dialectic intellect) stops. Says Coleridge:

It is utterly incapable of communicating insight or conviction concerning the existence or possibility of the world, as different from Deity. It finds itself constrained to identify, more truly to confound, the Creator with the aggregate of his creature. . . . The inevitable result of all consequent reasoning, in which the intellect refuses to acknowledge a higher or deeper ground than it can itself supply, and weens to possess within itself the centre of its own system, is—and from Zeno the Eleatic to Spinoza, and from Spinoza to the Schellings, Okens and their adherents, of the present day, ever has been—pantheism under one or other of its modes, the least

²³ Man derives his sense of reality of the objects of nature from an experience which "compels him to contemplate as without and independent of himself what yet he could not contemplate at all, were it not a modification of his own being" (Section II, Essay XI). This re-emphasizes that "in our life alone does nature live," as asserted in *Dejection: An Ode* (1802).

repulsive of which differs from the rest, not in its consequences, which are one and the same in all, and in all alike are practically atheistic, but only as it may express the striving of the philosopher himself to hide these consequences from his own mind. This, therefore, I repeat, is the final conclusion. All speculative disquisition must begin with postulates, which the conscience alone can at once authorize and substantiate: and from whichever point the reason may start, from the things which are seen to the one invisible, or from the idea of the absolute one to the things that are seen, it will find a chasm, which the moral being only, which the spirit and religion of man alone, can fill up.

Thus I prefaced my inquiry into the science of method with a principle deeper than science, more certain than demonstration. . . . There is but one principle, which alone reconciles the man with himself, with others, and with the world; which regulates all relations, tempers all passions, gives power to overcome or support all suffering, and which is not to be shaken by aught earthly, for it belongs not to the earth: namely, the principle of religion, the living and substantial faith *which passeth all understanding*, as the cloud-piercing rock, which overhangs the stronghold of which it had been the quarry and remains the foundation; . . . this it is which affords the sole sure anchorage in the storm, and at the same time the substantiating principle of all true wisdom, the satisfactory solution of all the contradictions of human nature, of the whole riddle of the world (Section II, Essay XI).

This remarkable passage and the following, which emphasizes the soul's freedom and immortality, reveal the heart of Coleridge's spiritual consciousness and the central springs of the philosophy of *The Friend*:

God created man in his own image. To be the image of his own eternity created he man! Of eternity and self-existence what other likeness is possible, but immortality and moral self-determination? In addition to sensation, perception, and practical judgment—instantive or acquirable—concerning the notices furnished by the organs of perception, all which in kind at least, the dog possesses in common with his master; in addition to these, God gave us reason, and with reason he gave us reflective self-consciousness; gave us principles, distinguished from the maxims and generalisations of outward experience by their absolute and essential universality and necessity, and above all, by superadding to reason the mysterious faculty of free-will and consequent personal amenability, he gave us

conscience—that law of conscience, which in the power, and as the indwelling word, of a holy and omnipotent legislator . . . unconditionally commands us to attribute reality, and actual existence, to those ideas and to those only, without which the conscience itself would be baseless and contradictory, to the ideas of soul, of free-will, of immortality, and of God. To God, as the reality of the conscience and the source of all obligation; to free-will, as the power of the human being to maintain the obedience which God through the conscience has commanded, against all the might of nature; and to the immortality of the soul, as a state in which the weal and woe of man shall be proportioned to his moral worth. With this faith all nature,

—all the mighty world
of eye and ear—

presents itself to us, now as the aggregated material of duty, and now as a vision of the Most High revealing to us the mode, and time, and particular instance of applying and realizing that universal rule, pre-established in the heart of our reason (Introduction, Essay xv).

The Hebrew Scriptures alone give an adequate account of these high matters. The Greeks made brilliant discoveries in the region of pure intellect and are still unrivalled in the arts of the imagination. The Romans were given "to war, empire, law." "It was the Roman instinct to appropriate by conquest and give fixure by legislation." But

The Hebrews may be regarded as the fixed mid point of the living line, toward which the Greeks as the ideal pole, and the Romans as the material, were ever approximating; till the coincidence and final synthesis took place in Christianity, of which the Bible is the law, and Christendom the *phenomenon* (Section II, Essay x).

The prose treatise *Aids to Reflection* (1825) has the same general atmosphere and outlook as *The Friend*; it employs again the principles of method and mental initiative and the distinction between reason and understanding as bases for interpreting morality and religion; and it asserts with equal emphasis that religion is the ultimate reality of life.

On the other hand, *Aids to Reflection* is much less subtle and abstruse, has a clearer outline and a more orderly arrangement of its matter, and is altogether a more readable book. Its frankly aphoristic style saves its author from the pitfalls of over-ingenuity which abound in *The Friend*. Not as arbitrary in its logic, it becomes a more profoundly human document. It admits of more latitude in argument and of greater flexibility in its distinctions. Reason, which in *The Friend* had been considered purely an absolute principle, is divided into speculative and practical reason, the speculative dealing with formal or abstract truth, the practical with actual, or moral, truth. Prudence, thought of in *The Friend* as at best a very low form of morality that stands in opposition to higher spiritual life, is more reasonably admitted into the scheme of true morality. Though *The Friend* asserted that the reason recognizes the will and conscience as important agencies in man's spiritual development, *Aids to Reflection* exalts the will relatively to a more prominent position. Though the former work recognized Christianity as the true religion, the latter lifts it to a place of central interest in the reader's consciousness; what was implicit concerning Christianity in the former becomes explicit in the latter, in accordance with the natural evolution of Coleridge's mind.

In short, Coleridge's main purpose in *Aids to Reflection* is to harmonize the tenets and doctrines of orthodox Christianity with his own transcendental philosophy; to "translate the terms of theology into their moral equivalents"; as, for example, to render such words as "sanctifying influences of the Spirit" by "purity in life and action from a pure principle," or to contemplate the words "spirit, grace, gifts, operations, and the like" as ideas of "the reason, flowing naturally from the admission of an

infinite omnipresent mind as the ground of the universe," with the aim of giving a fresh and deeper meaning to the old truths of religion. The inspiration and high hope of his work was that he might, in humility and modesty, "form the human mind anew after the Divine Image."

"The requisites," he says, "for the execution of this high intent may be comprised under three heads: the prudential, the moral, and the spiritual. . . . The prudential corresponds to the sense and the understanding; the moral to the heart and the conscience; the spiritual to the will and the reason, that is, to the finite will reduced to harmony with, and in subordination to, the reason, as a ray from the true light which is both reason and will, universal reason, and will absolute." This three-fold classification is logically adhered to in the three main divisions of the book, under the heads respectively of Prudential Aphorisms, Moral and Religious Aphorisms, and Aphorisms of Spiritual Religion Indeed.

Moral prudence is mainly prohibitive; *Thou shalt not* is its most characteristic formula. Its danger is to develop mere self-protection and self-love, and it must never be substituted for, or confused with, the higher morality. As a corrective on our sensual nature and as a protector of virtue it is a necessity; it acts as a sort of doorway between the world of the senses and morality. "Though prudence in itself is neither virtue nor spiritual holiness, yet without prudence, or in opposition to it, neither virtue nor holiness can exist."

Higher than prudence is religious morality. Here are opened up at once questions concerning the relation of some of the essential doctrines of Christianity to the feelings, motives, the conscience, and the will, of man. Christianity, for instance, is superior to Stoicism in this, that while the latter attaches honor to the person who acts

virtuously in spite of his feelings, the former "instructs us to place small reliance on a virtue that does not begin by bringing the feelings to a conformity with the commands of the conscience. Its especial aim, its characteristic operation, is to moralize the feelings."

Again, such phrases from the Scriptures as *the Spirit beareth witness with our spirit* cannot be explained except by postulating the freedom of the will in man: "The man makes the motive, and not the motive the man. What is a strong motive to one man, is no motive at all to another. If, then, the man determines the motive, what determines the man—to a good and worthy act, we will say, or a virtuous course of conduct? The intelligent will, or the self-determined power? True, in part it is: and therefore the will is pre-eminently, the spiritual constituent in our being." It is only with a free, spiritual being that we can imagine the Spirit to hold intercommunion.

Being spiritual, the will is not natural, that is, not in nature:

Whatever is comprised in the chain and mechanism of cause and effect, of course necessitated, and having its necessity in some other thing, antecedent or concurrent—this is said to be natural; and the aggregate and system of all such things is Nature. It is, therefore, a contradiction in terms to include in this the free-will, of which the verbal definition is—that which originates an act or state of being. . . . It follows, therefore, that whatever originates its own acts, or in any sense contains in itself the cause of its own state, must be spiritual, and consequently supernatural; yet not on that account necessarily miraculous. And such must the responsible Will in us be, if it be at all. . . . These views of the Spirit, and of the Will as spiritual, form the ground-work of my scheme.²⁴

(*On Spiritual Religion Indeed*, Introduction to Aphorism x)

²⁴ "I have attempted, then, to fix the proper meaning of the words, Nature and Spirit, the one being the *antithesis* to the other: so that the most general and negative definition of nature is, whatever is

This conception of the will as above Nature and above the law of cause and effect is in flat contradiction to the philosophy of the Necessitarians, who assume "that motives act on the will, as bodies act on bodies; and that whether mind and matter are essentially the same, or essentially different, they are both alike under one and the same law of compulsory causation."²⁵

It is likewise utterly incompatible with Calvinism:

The doctrine of modern Calvinism, as laid down by Jonathan Edwards and the late Dr. Williams, which represents a will absolutely passive, clay in the hands of a potter, destroys all will, takes away its essence and definition, as effectually as in saying—This circle is square—I should deny the figure to be a circle at all. It was in strict consistency, therefore, that these writers supported the Necessitarian scheme, and made the relation of cause and effect the law of the universe, subjecting to its mechanism the moral world no less than the material or physical. It follows that all is nature. Thus, though few writers use the term Spirit more frequently, they in effect deny its existence, and evacuate the term of all its proper meaning. With such a system not the wit of man nor all the theodices ever framed by human ingenuity, before the celebrated Leibnitz, can reconcile the sense of responsibility, nor the fact of the difference in kind between regret and remorse.

(*On Spiritual Religion Indeed*, Aphorism I)

not spirit; and *vice versa* of spirit, that which is not comprehended in nature; or in the language of our elder divines, that which transcends nature. But Nature is the term in which we comprehend all things that are representable in the forms of time and space, and subjected to the relations of cause and effect: and the cause of the existence of which, therefore, is to be sought for perpetually in something antecedent."

²⁵ In Chapter VII of *Biographia Literaria*, composed 1817, Coleridge says that according to Necessitarians "we only fancy, that we act from rational resolves, or prudent motives, or from impulses of anger, love, or generosity. In all these cases the real agent is a *something-nothing-everything*, which does all of which we know, and knows nothing of all that itself does. The existence of an infinite spirit, of an intelligent and holy will, must, on this system, be mere articulate motions of the air."

Yet the reflecting man must admit that his own will is not the only and sufficient determinant of all he is, and all he does. Something must be attributed to the "harmony of the system to which he belongs, and to the pre-established fitness of the objects and agents, known and unknown, that surround him." Moreover, in the world we see everywhere evidences of a unity, which the component parts are so far from explaining, that they necessarily presuppose it as the cause and condition of their existing as those parts; or even of their existing at all. This antecedent unity, or principle, or universal presence, or Spirit, acts "on the will by a predisposing influence from without, as it were, though in a spiritual manner, and without suspending or destroying its freedom." Thus *the Spirit beareth witness with our spirit*—man is a co-partner with the Divine.

Furthermore, this intercommunion suggests the possibility of man's endless progress in the quest of the spirit. "Every state of religious morality, which is not progressive, is dead or retrograde." And "Christianity is not a theory, or a speculation; but a life—not a philosophy of life, but a life and a living process." The law of method and of mental initiative with its principle of progressive transition, developed in *The Friend*, has its highest and ultimate application in the Christian's "ever-progressive, though never-ending" growth in spiritual truth. It is the culmination of what is a universal law of progress, from the lowest order of creation to the highest:

The lowest class of animals or *protozoa*, the *polypi* for instance, have neither brain nor nerves. Their motive powers are all from without. The sun, light, the warmth, the air are their nerves and brain. As life ascends, nerves appear; but still only as the conductors of an external influence; next are seen the knots or ganglions, as so many *foci* of instinctive agency, which imperfectly imitate the yet wanting centre. And now the promise and token of

a true individuality are disclosed; . . . the spontaneous rises into the voluntary, and finally after various steps and long ascent, the material and animal means and conditions are prepared for the manifestations of a free will, having its law within itself, and its motive in the law—and thus bound to originate its own acts, not only without, but even against, alien stimulants. That in our present state we have only the dawning of this inward sun (the perfect law of liberty) will sufficiently limit and qualify the preceding position, if only it have been allowed to produce its two-fold consequence—the excitement of hope and the repression of vanity (*Moral and Religious Aphorisms*, xv). . . . And who that hath watched their ways with an understanding heart, the filial and loyal bee; the home-building, wedded, and divorceless swallow; and above all the manifoldly intelligent ant tribes, with their common-wealths and confederacies, their warriors and miners, the husband-folk, that fold in their tiny flocks on the honeyed leaf, and the virgin sisters with the holy instincts of maternal love, detached and in selfless purity—and not say to himself, Behold the shadow of approaching humanity, the sun rising from behind, in the kindling morn of creation! Thus all lower natures find their highest good in semblances and seekings of that which is higher and better. All things strive to ascend, and ascend in their striving. And shall man alone stoop?²⁶ . . . No! it must be a higher good to make you happy. While you labor for any thing below your proper humanity, you seek a happy life in the region of death. Well saith the moral poet—

Unless above himself he can
Erect himself, how mean a thing is man!
(*Moral and Religious Aphorisms*, xxxvi)

What is peculiar to man, however, and exclusively human, is a struggle of jarring impulses within him; a mysterious diversity between the injunctions of the mind and the elections of the will; an inexplicable sense of moral evil in his nature. The means of redemption from this evil constitutes spiritual religion indeed—something higher than religious morality. This redemption cannot

²⁶ These almost startlingly penetrative passages anticipate, so far as prophecy can anticipate, the evolutionary thought of a later generation, especially on its ethical side, as expressed, for instance, in the poetry of Browning.

be effected merely by a progressive development toward moral perfection, but requires a special revealing and redeeming agency. "I regard," says Coleridge, "the very phrase, 'Revealed Religion,' as a pleonasm, inasmuch as a religion not revealed is, in my judgment, no religion at all." The historic Christ is the Revealer and Redeemer. "I believe Moses, I believe Paul; but I believe in Christ," succinctly expresses Coleridge's meaning. To show that the distinctive principles of Christianity as a redemptive religion are in full accord with right reason and highest conscience is the purpose of the third part of *Aids to Reflection*.

"The two great moments of the Christian Religion are, Original Sin and Redemption."²⁷ Without a distinct comprehension of the meaning of the term Original Sin it is impossible to understand aright any one of the doctrines peculiar to Christianity. Original sin, then, is "sin originant, underived from without," that is, it is not a thing in nature, where all is Necessity, cause and effect, antecedent and consequent—"in nature there can be no origin." Sin therefore is a spiritual, not a natural, evil; but the spiritual in man is the will; in and by the will sin must originate. It is a thing neither inflicted on man, nor implanted in him, not inherited by him: "For if it be sin, it must be original; and a state or act, that has not its origin in the will, may be calamity, deformity, disease, or mischief; but a sin it can not be." The question, therefore, of the chronology of sin, or the chronicles of the first sinner, or of the supposed connecting links of an adamantine chain from the first sinner down to ourselves, has only

²⁷ Coleridge considers many other articles of the Creed, such as Election, The Trinity, Baptism, etc., but since these are matters for the Speculative, not the Practical, Reason to consider, they admit of great varieties of opinion without affecting the character of the Christian.

a metaphysical and historical interest; and the question as to whether sin is of God or co-equal with God becomes a barren controversy. What the individual must primarily concern himself with is, not what inherited tendencies or diseases he is afflicted with, but what moral evil he has originated in his own responsible will; for that alone is sin.

Nevertheless, original sin is confessedly a mystery, one which by the nature of the subject must ever remain such, which is felt to be such by every one who has previously convinced himself that he is a responsible being—a mystery which admits of no further explanation than the statement of the fact. It is, however, not a fact and a mystery first introduced and imposed by Christianity, but of universal recognition. It is assumed or implied by every religion that retains the least glimmering of the patriarchal faith in a God infinite, yet personal. A deep sense of this fact is in the most ancient books of the Brahmins; in the Atheism of the Buddhists; in the myths of Prometheus, of Io, and of Cupid and Psyche—"in the assertion of Original Sin the Greek Mythology rose and set." It is as great a perplexity for the philosophic Deist as for the Christian; so that a man may not get rid of the difficulty by ceasing to be a Christian.

It is in the Christian Scriptures alone, however, that original sin is affirmed with the force and frequency proportioned to its consummate importance. And it is the Christ alone of these Scriptures that supplies an adequate redemption from its power. The Redemptive Act is complete and perfect in itself. Christ, sinless, voluntarily took upon himself our humanity; and though his death was violent, he accepted it with an inward willingness of spirit, which was its real cause. The power of sin was conquered by his Spirit. It is not merely by steadfast-

ness of will, or determination, but by *steadfastness in faith*, faith in something higher than the will—the redemptive power of Christ’s love—that the will can be saved from the consequences of original sin, that is, be regenerated, and that the self can be emptied of evil and filled with grace and truth.


Redemption is in no sense a credit-debit account between two parties (God and man) into which a third party (Christ) enters to pay the debt to satisfy the creditor. But the Redeemer, by taking on human flesh and conquering sin in the flesh, created a condition by which man may be a co-agent with the Spirit of Christ; and through repentance and faith, the two constantly interacting, and through his will, working in conjunction with both repentance and faith, man may attain to salvation. That is, redemption is a spiritual process and a spiritual mystery. And things spiritual must be apprehended spiritually.

The redemptive experience has a true inwardness and is transcendental. A Christian cannot speak or think as if his redemption were a future or contingent event, but must both feel and say, “I have been redeemed, I am justified.” Christ did not merely come to show us a way of life, to teach certain opinions and truths, and tell us of a resurrection; but he declared He is the Way, the Truth, the Resurrection, the Life; God manifested in the flesh is eternity in the form of time. The Absolute Reason in Christ became human reason. And the method of redemption furnishes the means for the human reason to become one with the Absolute Reason, the human will with the Absolute Will. Just as the understanding in man utilizes the material furnished by the senses to its own ends, just as the reason utilizes the understanding to its own and higher ends—just as, in other words, there is

an antecedent and higher mental initiative in every act of mental and moral growth—so the Redeemer furnishes the antecedent moral and spiritual initiative to the will that it might free itself, not only of its own original sin, but of ultimate corruption and carnal death, and become free indeed. Thus the method of redemption offered in the Scriptures is in absolute harmony with right reason and highest conscience.

Since the redemptive experience is an inward process of purifying the heart and the will and must needs be had by every Christian, it follows that the question of miracles and the question of immortality are relatively of less importance as attesting the truth of religion. As to miracles, it may freely be admitted and even contended that those worked by Christ were to the whole Jewish nation true and appropriate evidences as to the nature of him who worked them and proof of the truth of his teachings. But what if, as Paley taught, these external and historical data are substituted for the inward experience of religion itself as evidences of Christianity? Coleridge retorts: "Evidences of Christianity! I am weary of the word. Make a man feel the want of it; rouse him, if you can, to the self-knowledge of his need of it; and you may safely trust to its own evidence." Likewise an intellectual assent to belief in immortality, which is a fundamental article of faith in all other religions as well as Christianity, cannot be substituted for the possession of that inward grace and truth which came by Jesus Christ.

In thus setting himself squarely against Jonathan Edwards and Paley and all the Necessitarian and rational theologians of the eighteenth century, and in transfusing religion with imaginative and spiritual insight, Coleridge became a prophet of the nineteenth century and an influential power in philosophy and literature as well as in



religion. He not only inveighed mightily against his own early views and all theologies that conceive God as a law of gravitation, and that empty the words sin and holiness of their real meaning, but against all schemes of conduct based on calculations of self-interest. Of such schemes he says:

They do not belong to moral science, to which, both in kind and purpose, they are in all cases foreign, and, when substituted for it, hostile. Ethics, or the science of Morality, does indeed in no wise exclude the consideration of action; but it contemplates the same in its originating spiritual source, without reference to space or time, or sensible existence. Whatever springs out of the *perfect law of freedom*, which exists only by its unity with the will of God, its inherence in the Word of God, and its communion with the Spirit of God—that (according to the principles of moral science) is good—it is light and righteousness and very truth (*On Spiritual Religion* Indeed, XIII).

This inward spiritual religion postulates a wider transcendence; namely, that in general of the spiritual over the material world, and militates against our habit of attaching all our conceptions and feelings to the objects of the senses: "I do not hesitate to assert, that it was one of the great purposes of Christianity, and included in the process of our redemption, to rouse and emancipate the soul from this debasing slavery to the outward senses, to awaken the mind to the true *criteria* of reality, namely, permanence, power, will manifested in act, and truth operating in life." Indeed, throughout *The Friend* and *Aids to Reflection* Coleridge insists that the visible objects of nature have reality only so far as there is in them a principle of permanence akin to the 'peculia' of humanity, "without which indeed they not only exist in vain, as pictures for moles, but actually do not exist at all;"—one long peroration on the text in *Dejection: An Ode* (1802): "We receive but what we give, and in our life alone does Nature live."

That the presupposition throughout *Aids to Reflection* of faith in God as personal, with moral attributes, and in Christ as more than human, meant something other to Coleridge than a matter of mere intellectual assent is attested by a letter to Stuart, in 1826, which expresses his personal acceptance of faith in God and in a Redeemer and belief in the efficacy of prayer. In consequence he became more cheerful and more resigned than formerly. About this same time he freed himself measurably from the evil of opium; thenceforth he passed his days in the serenity of old age and in the spirit of a personal and transcendental religion.

But a revealed and transcendental religion, based on the Word of God, implies some special method or principle of interpreting the Bible. The question of interpretation Coleridge discusses in a little treatise *Confessions of an Inquiring Spirit*, posthumously published. The cautiousness with which he argues against Infallibility—the theory that the Bible throughout was literally dictated by Omniscience—indicates how universally the theory was held in Coleridge's day; the clearness and boldness with which he presents his own opposing view makes him one of the forerunners of the free and so-called 'higher' criticism of later times.

Coleridge contends that the Bible should be approached in the same spirit that one approaches any other books of grave authority. One may, for instance, consider as un-Shakespearian passages in *Titus Andronicus* and other plays of Shakespeare, and yet speak with absolute certainty concerning the manifold beauties of Shakespeare, both in general and with detail. To deem every line in Shakespeare as authoritative and praiseworthy as every other line would be critical fanaticism. Likewise it is "superstitious and unscriptural" to consider that since the

Bible was dictated by God Himself every word in it is as precious as every other word. In short, it is the spirit of the Bible, and not the detached words and sentences, that is infallible and absolute. And he who "takes it up as he would any other body of ancient writings, the livelier and steadier will be his impression of its superiority to all other books, till at length all other books and all other knowledge will be valuable in his eyes in proportion as they help him to a better understanding of his Bible."

Though Christianity has its historical evidences as strong as is compatible with the nature of history, "the truth revealed through Christ has its evidence in itself, and the proof of its divine authority is its fitness to our nature and needs." For this transcendental or pragmatic test nothing can ever be substituted; the true inwardness of the Scriptures must find response in the true inwardness of man's soul. This Coleridge eloquently expounds in *Notes on the Book of Common Prayer*, where he speaks of preparations for taking the Sacrament of the Eucharist:

Read over and over again (he says) the Gospel according to St. John, till your mind is familiarized to the contemplation of Christ, the Redeemer and Mediator of mankind, yea, of every creature, as the living and self-subsisting Word, the very truth of all true being, and the very being of all enduring truth; the reality, which is the substance and unity of all reality. . . . We are assured, and we believe, that Christ is God; God manifested in the flesh. As God, he must be present entire in every creature;—(for how can God or indeed any spirit, exist in parts?)

This transcendent, monistic, and purely mystical Unity represents the final stage of Coleridge's spiritual development.

In *Religious Musings* of 1794 Coleridge began with the conception of Unity and with an effort to harmonize whatever light he possessed with the Scriptures; these two factors therefore are common to all the stages of his reli-

gious development. Thus Unity is both the most constant and the most important principle in his religious philosophy, while the Bible, in which St. John plays a special part, is the most important influence in shaping that philosophy. On the other hand, the widest divergence in his thought is this, that whereas in the first stage he represented Deity as impersonal and "not only as a necessary but a necessitated being," man as an automaton "pre-doomed" to a fixed course, and all things in the universe as regulated into a necessary universal harmony, in the second stage he gradually emancipated himself from this conception and became transcendental, conceiving God as personal²⁸ and self-determined, and man as having conscience and free-will and other transcendent qualities, by means of which he is able to effect a higher Unity with the power and Will of God. Though this divergence involves a complete facing about on a fundamental issue, Coleridge's religious writings, when studied in chronological order, show a consistent growth, beginning with a thorough-going Necessitarianism and ending in a radical Transcendentalism. They were one of the most important influences in changing the current of English thought from characteristic eighteenth-century determinism and Necessitarianism to characteristic nineteenth-century Idealism.

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²⁸ Of his transition period Coleridge writes in *Biographia Literaria* (Chapter x): "For a very long time, indeed, I could not reconcile personality with infinity: and my head was with Spinoza, though my whole heart remained with Paul and John. Yet there had dawned upon me, even before I had met with the *Critique of Pure Reason*, a certain guiding light. . . . I became convinced, that religion, as both the corner-stone and the key-stone of morality, must have a moral origin; so far at least, that the evidence of its doctrines could not, like the truths of abstract science, be wholly independent of the will."

II.—THE YOUNG MAN BETROTHED TO A STATUE

ADDITIONAL NOTE

Through the kindness of Professor R. M. Mitchell, of Brown University, who has sent me his copy of *Venus in Rom*, I am now able to give an account of Wilibald Alexis's rendering of the story of Venus and the ring.¹ The material is handled very freely—*tant pis*. The scene is laid in the Rome of the Renaissance, where (as one of the characters says) “winkt uns das Alterthum lockend in seine Wunderwelt zurück.” The first half—the whole is a novelette of thirty thousand words—is very slow-moving. Hubert von Stein, a German nobleman, has come to Rome to visit his friend, Theodor Savelli; who has, however, mysteriously disappeared. There are glimpses of Roman social life, of a necromancer and hermit named Palumbus, of the beautiful Viola Gritti, of Savelli's half-deserted palace (with a broken statue which has injured the workmen who were removing it²), and even of Raphael painting in the Vatican. And there are violent thunder storms, strange meetings, dreams, visions, at night; a manifest attempt to create an atmosphere of the supernatural. The latter half is more lively. Savelli has appeared, half insane; he tells of a ball game on the day of his wedding, of putting the inconvenient ring on a Venus statue, of his consequent marriage with the goddess and fearful visits to the Venusberg. Hubert's wife Mathilde comes from Germany to find her husband . . . with

¹ Cf. these *Publications*, XXXIV (1919), p. 575, n. 2.

² This detail was perhaps remembered by Mérimée.

a Roman mistress, Faustine, and a baby. Enter Martin Luther. There is an attempt on Leo X's life, a street riot, in which Hubert, denounced as a heretic, defends himself for several pages single-handed against the mob, escapes by leaping into the Tiber, is rescued by his mistress (who dies defending him), and counter-rescued by his faithful spouse. At the end Savelli, still insane, regains his ring—not, however, through Palumbus's aid,—returns to his wife Viola, persuades her to drink poison, burns his palace after an elaborate funeral, and becomes a pilgrim. Palumbus dies. Mathilde and Hubert return to Germany, with little Guido, Faustine's son.

The *Venus in Rom* is certainly not an artistic success, though Heine was good enough to say that it belonged to the "poetisch geistreichste Produkte" of Wilibald Alexis. It has no life, no structure, very little coherence; it fails completely in that which it most strives for, the creation of a sense of the mysterious intermingling of Rome's ancient divinities with the men of the Renaissance.

I take this opportunity of making a few additions to the material already presented. — I find in Huet's *La légende de la statue de Vénus*³ an interesting general discussion and a few bibliographical notes which I had missed.⁴ The "deux idées fondamentales" of the legend—that the ancient Venus became a mediæval demon and that a statue animated by a demon could act as a human being—Huet treats at some length. His position appears to differ from mine mainly in that he rejects all general folk-lore material; and he is more confident than I can see

³ *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, LXVIII (1913), pp. 193-217.

⁴ The most important are these: the rather slight *Over eene novelle van Mérimée*, by A. Kluyver, in *De Gids*, 1893, 1, pp. 356-66; reference to a version of the Bachelor of Rome in the prose *Berinus*; and mention of d'Annunzio's *Pisanelle*.

reason for being that the legend had its origin at Rome in the tenth or eleventh century, *after* paganism had ceased to be a religious force.—Heine in his *Elementargeister* (1837) retells the story briefly from Kornmann's version, and mentions Del Rio and Wilibald Alexis.⁵ It is curious to note that the latter's *novelle* was reprinted in 1831, and a few years thereafter appeared the similar stories of Heine, Gaudy, and Mérimée.⁶—The story is told again in the Prologue of d'Annunzio's *La Pisanelle*, which was produced in Paris in June 1913 (Huet, p. 196, n. 2).—To the references p. 534, n. 32 (that to Lucian should be *Amores*, 14-17) may be added Aelian, *Varia Historia*, ix, 39 (ed. Hercher, II, p. 106), and Philostratus, *Vita Apollonii*, vi, 40 (ed. Kayser, I, p. 251); and cf. Philostratus, *Vitae Sophist.*, II, 18 (ed. cit., ii, p. 101). The motif is salaciously parodied in Morlini's Novella LXXXI, *De tribus mulieribus quæ reperierunt pretiosam margaritam*.⁷—P. 558, three lines from bottom: the Latin verses printed on p. 559 are of course tetrameters.

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⁵ Ed. Elster, iv, pp. 425 ff.

⁶ In his unfinished *Romanzen vom Rosenkranz*, Clemens Brentano intended a section on *three rings*, among which possibly our story would have been represented. His note is as follows: "Den Ring der Mutter Gottes hatte Kosme, er ist durch das Anstecken an die Hand der Venus in den Venusberg gekommen; der Ring der Venus kam in seine Hand, durch ihn an die Mutter der Kinder, dann an Biondetten, von ihr an Rosablanka, deren Sinn dadurch verwirrt wird. Den Ring des Herodes besitzt Apone" (Clemens Brentano's *Gesammelte Schriften*, ed. Christian Brentano, Frankfurt aM, 1852, III, p. 463).

⁷ Ed. Paris, 1855, p. 158. Cf. further F. Liebrecht, *Zur Volkskunde*, p. 139.

III.—KARTAUNE, KARTAUWE

German lexicographers are practically unanimous in deriving *Kartaune*, together with its variant *Kartauwe*, from an Italian word *quartana*, interpreted to mean either 'a gun of the fourth magnitude' or one 'which shoots a ball of 25 pounds.' Kluge,¹ for example, says:

Kartaune, Kartane F. 'kleine dicke Kanone' (bei Henisch 1616 *cartuna*) aus ital. *quartana*, neulat. *quartāna*; diese Bezeichnung, sowie deren ältere nhd. Übersetzung *Viertelsbüchse* meint eine Kanone, "welche 25 Pfund schoss im Vergleich zu dem grössten 100 Pfund schiessenden Belagerungsgeschütz."

Paul² has nothing to add to this statement, which goes back to L. Fronsperger's *Kriegsbuch* (1571), quoted in Grimm's *Deutsches Wörterbuch* (v, p. 234): "quartana, die man nennet noth- oder viertheilbüchsen, die schiessen gewöhnlich 25 pf. eisen." In Fronsperger's *Kriegsregiment* (1555) there is a similar statement, quoted by F. Helbling in his article on "Das militärische Fremdwort des 16. Jahrhunderts":³

"Ein Quartan / So auff Teütsch ein Fiertel Büchsz mag genennt werden, dieweils von der Scharpffmetzen allwegen mit fünff vnd zwentzig pfunden abzeucht / bisz auff die Carthonen / dann ein Quartan soll schiessen fünf vnd zweintzig pfund eysen / . . ."

It is not necessary to quote the statements of older lexicographers such as Frisch⁴ and Adelung⁵: the former

¹ *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache*, 8. Aufl., 1915, p. 229.

² *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, 2. Aufl., 1908, p. 284.

³ *Zeitschrift für deutsche Wortforschung*, xiv, p. 50 (1912).

⁴ *Deutsch-Lateinisches Wörter-Buch*, 1741, I, p. 166.

⁵ *Versuch eines vollständigen grammatisch-kritischen Wörterbuches der Hochd. Mundart*, 1775, II, p. 1509.

gives the current etymology, with the definition *tormentum murale quartae magnitudinis*, the latter, in addition, notes the conjecture of Ihre, who would derive the word from *Karren*, 'cart.' Still another derivation was proposed by Schmeller,⁶ who tentatively connected the word with *Kartätsche*, Ital. *cartaccia*, French *cartouche*.

All these explanations, however, are based on texts of the sixteenth century, whereas the word can be traced back to the fifteenth, and that, too, in clear and unequivocal instances. The earliest of these occur in the contemporary accounts of the wars of Charles the Bold of Burgundy. An entry in the city-records of Freiburg (Switzerland) under date of May 8, 1476, is quoted by Ochsenbein⁷ (p. 185):

vnd sagt: er (i. e., Charles) were basz gerüst vor granson denn yetz. III hauptbüchsszen gröszer, XV curtal, (kürzere) II c schlangenbüchsen, merteil isen.

Another version of this report reads as follows:⁸

und sagt, er were vast gerüst vor Granson den jetz, 3 hauptbüchsen grösser, 15 curtano 150 schlangen büchsen, merteil isen.

In a report sent from Bern to Basel on May 11, this is repeated in the following words (Ochsenbein, p. 196):

Er hat III Houbtbuchsen vnd drissig ander buchssen, die man nempt Curtan vnd sust darby anderthalb hundert slangen, Isinbuchsen.

The Freiburg records also contain a contemporary entry in French, referring to one of these cannon captured from the Duke at the battle of Grandson (Ochsenbein, p. 608):

⁶ *Bayerisches Wörterbuch*, 2. Aufl., 1872, I, p. 1296 f.

⁷ *Die Urkunden der Belagerung und Schlacht von Murten*, Gemammelt von G. F. Ochsenbein, Freiburg, 1876.

⁸ *Freiburger Geschichtsblätter*, xvi, p. 37 (1909), quoted by E. A. Gessler in *Mitteilungen der antiquarischen Gesellschaft in Zürich*, xxviii, p. 209 (1918).

Item a Nicod hardi pour XXX pierres de boites, quil a fet pour le curtan ° de granson XXX S.—

Finally, an Italian despatch of April 17, 1476, likewise referring to the Duke's artillery, reads:¹⁰ "quatro bombarde grosse, 6 cortaldi et circa 54 grosse serpentine." On June 15, another despatch mentions "doe bombarde grosse con alcuni cortaldi e serpentine."¹¹

We have thus, in Swiss-German accounts of 1476, originating in Freiburg, the terms *curtal*, *curtano*, and *curtan*, applied to a species of cannon used by Charles the Bold. That the term *curtan* was new to the writer at Bern is indicated by the addition of the words *die man nempt*.

The occurrence of *curtan* in a contemporary French record of Freiburg, and of *cortaldi* in the Italian despatches sufficiently indicates the channels by which the Romance words entered the German language. By its location on the border-line of the French and German languages—at present about 30% of the inhabitants speak German—Freiburg was particularly susceptible to speech-mixture. Note for example the following entry in the city-records under April 1, 1476 (Ochsenbein, p. 89):

Scribere a berna, quod volumus esse contenti dez boistez et dez büchsen meister gen murten vnd wir haben zu vnserm vogt nicod perrotet zum hauptman gesetzt . . .

¹⁰ Ch. Stajessi, in *Archives de la Société d'Histoire du Canton de Fribourg*, VII, p. 112 (1903), gives a résumé of this entry: "1476 pour 30 pierres de boîte faites pour le curton de Grandson." What authority there is for this spelling *curton* I am unable to determine.

¹¹ *Basler Chroniken*, Leipzig, 1880, II, p. 421. The Italian despatches go back ultimately to Fr. de Gingins-La Sarra, *Dépêches des ambassadeurs milanais sur les campagnes de Charles-le-Hardi*, Paris and Geneva, 1858. Ochsenbein gives only a German translation of the first. The above German quotations from Ochsenbein are also in the *Basler Chroniken*.

¹¹ Ochsenbein, p. 277, quoting De Gingins, No. 235.

Similarly, isolated German words such as *schirm*, *ladung*, *hakenbuchse*, *kegel*, *stein*, *stock*, etc. are found in French sentences: "et pour I boistes pour tenir zündpulfer Soma XXV S. IIII den." (Ochsenbein, p. 607). In some cases the German word was adopted by the French, e. g., *veuglaire*, *vuglaire*, *wigler*, the name of a species of light cannon, occurring frequently at Freiburg, as well as in other French texts of the period, which is a corruption of the German *vogeler*. Here we have an exact parallel to the taking-over of *curtan*, *curtal* into the German language.

The etymology of these Romance words is perfectly clear: they go back to Latin *curtus*, and occur even before the invention of artillery as designations of *curtailed* objects and animals. The English *curtail* is itself identical with *curtal*, the accent having been originally on the first syllable, while the spelling *-ail* is by analogy to *tail*. Shakespeare says, for example:

I'd give bay Curtal and his furniture,
(*All's Well*, II, iii, 60).

Hope is a curtal dog in some affairs:
(*Merry Wives*, II, i, 114).

Courtaud, applied to an animal, occurs in French as early as 1439: "Fut prins un loup, et n'avoit point de queue et pour ce fut nommé courtaud" (see Godefroy,¹² Gay,¹³ and others, s. v. *courtaud*, *courtau*). Similarly, as applied to a horse: "Le duc de Bourgogne monta sur un courtaut" (1467: Gay); "Courtault est un cheval qui a crin et oreilles coupées" (1606: Gay); "luy qui estoit legierement armé et monté sur ung courtault" ¹⁴ (1506).

¹² *Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française*.

¹³ *Glossaire archéologique du Moyen Age et de la Renaissance*, Tome premier, Paris, 1887.

¹⁴ *Chroniques de Louis XII par Jean D'Auton*, Paris, 1895, IV, p. 84.

In Italian, also, *cortaldo* is cited in the sense of "Cavallo cui si è mozzata o accortata la coda e le orecchie" (Tommaseo e Bellini,¹⁵ citing a text of the sixteenth century).

Godefroy has a number of instances of *courtal* as the name of a species of short cannon: "Canons, veuguelaires et courtaux (Waurin [†ca. 1474], *Anchienn. Cron. d'Engleterre*). Ung courtault de fer sans chambre (Dijon, 1476). le courtal neufz du Pallais (1483)."

Gay defines *courttau* as "canon d'assez fort calibre dans l'artillerie des XV^e et XVI^e siècles. Le courttau nommé aussi crapaud était une sorte de mortier monté sur roues, à courte volée et qu'on chargeait tantôt par la bouche, tantôt par la culasse comme le veuglaire. . . ." Gay also cites a number of sixteenth-century instances.

In English texts of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the following forms, cited by the *NED*, are to be noted: *curtaldis* (1509); *courtaultes* (1530); *Curtawes*, *demy Curtaux*, *Curtalls* (1548); *Curtowes* (1629); *Cortals* (1664)—all in the plural.

In Italian, Tommaseo e Bellini, with the definition 'cannone corto,' cite: "A chi è piaciuto le corte (*artiglierie*), come le spingarde, mortari, cortaldi, cannone, bombarde, e simili" (1540).

The other word, *cortana*, is given the same definition of 'cannone corto,' being quoted by Tommaseo e Bellini from Francesco Martini's *Trattato di Architettura civile e militare*: "La quarta (*specie d'artiglieria*) è appellata Cortana, lunga la tromba sua piedi 8 e la coda piedi 4; la pietra sua di libbre 70 in 100."

As the name of a pointless, blunted sword, *curtana* with its derivatives *cortain*, *courtain*, *curtein*, occurs even earlier than *courttau*, *cortaldo*. Godefroy (II, p. 318)

¹⁵ *Dizionario della lingua italiana*, Torino, 1872.

notes: "CORTAIN, *courtain* était le nom de l'épée de Roland, et plus tard d'Ogier," and cites the Old French instances, a single example of which will suffice here:

Certain au pont massis.

The following dated instances are from the *NED*: gladium S. Edwardi qui curtein dicitur (a 1259); gladium qui vocatur curtana portavit (1308); portabit gladium qui vocatur curtana (1377). Ducange likewise gives a number of examples.

Godefroy also cites *cortin*, *courtin* as applied to dogs and horses:

Vostre mesnie mal doutee
Semble del ordre au chien *courtin*
Qui on a la keue colpee.

As applied to a horse, Godefroy gives the meaning of "cheval de courte taille: Et chevauchoit tousjours un petit *courtin*": possibly the other meanings of *courtaut* occur also in the case of *courtin*.

To return now to the German word: *curtan*, the earliest spelling, is soon followed by the forms *cartan*, *carton*, *cartun*, *chartonne*, *quartan*, *quarton*, *quartton*, *quartaun*, *quartane*, *quartaune*, *quarton*, all of which occur in the fifteenth century. The documents of the Suabian League,¹⁶ referring to the Swiss War of 1499 and the preparations of the years preceding, afford a number of examples:

Item dartzu musz man haben schlangen büchsen, und quartan, (p. 18: 1488). gerüst sein mit . . . kartschen, igeln, quarton, schlangen, hagkenpüchsen . . . sollen sich rüsten mit ainer hawptpüchsen, quarton, schlangen, pulfer, stainen . . . Item Brandenburg soll sich rüsten mit ainer hawptbüchsen, auch mit quarton, schlangen . . . Item Wirttemberg soll sich rüsten mit ainer hauptbüchsen, quarton,

¹⁶ *Urkunden zur Geschichte des Schwäbischen Bundes*, I. Theil [Bibl. Lit. Verein Stuttgart, XIV].

schlangen . . . Item die von Ulm sollen sich rüsten mit ainer hawptbüchsen, quarton, schlangen . . . (p. 82: 1490). nemlich Wirtemberg 3000 zu fusz, 1 quartton, 3 schlangenbügssen . . . darzu die von stetten 1 quartton, 5 schlangenbügssen (p. 298: 1499).

In all the above instances, no matter what the spelling of the word, it has but two syllables, in both singular and plural. About this time, however, forms with three syllables are also to be noted:

Darzu sollen die stet haben 2 quartaunen und 10 slangn (p. 351: 1499). das jr . . . etlich schlangen, quartanen mit euch bringent (p. 356: 1499). das die erbern stett 2 quartanen und 10 schlangenbüchsen haben sollen (p. 362: 1499). Nürnberg 2 quarttanen, 4 viertail büchsen, und die andern stett des bundts 14 schlangenbüchsen (p. 435: 1501).

The last passage is of particular interest, in that it proves conclusively that *quartane* and *viertail büchse* were two separate and distinct species of artillery, whereas Fronsperger, in 1555, assumes that these terms are identical in meaning. This assumed identity is the ultimate basis of the popular etymology of *Kartaune* that has persisted to the present day.

Another interesting fact is that all the early instances with initial *q* are limited to the Suabian documents cited. Now, Fronsperger was a Suabian, born at Ulm about the year 1520. The dialect form *quartane* thus contributed to make the false etymology all the more plausible to him. The contemporary Swiss accounts of the war of 1499 show only forms with initial *c* or *k*. In Feer's Chronicle (*Geschichtsfreund*, II, p. 145) the following instances are found:

dann die von lutzern ein kartonen, ein tracken gar ein starcke lange büchsen, vnd dry schlangen daruor hatten, den selben tracken schoss man mit trinen steinen oder klotzen, by der Karthonen der büchsenmeister erschossen ward (1499).

The documents cited by E. Tatarinoff, *Die Beteiligung Solothurns am Schwabenkriege*, show similar forms:

die grosen Slangen und die Cartonnen (p. 125: 1499). die Karthonnen . . . mit der Chartonnen (p. 133: 1499).

In Liliencron's *Hist. Volkslieder* there is a song commemorating an event of the year 1489 (II, p. 259):

man schoss darin mit scharfatinen,
mit kartunen und ouch mit schlangen.

In the *Geschichten und Taten Wilwolts von Schaumburg* (Bibl. Lit. Ver. Stuttgart, L. Bd.), the ms. of which is dated 1507, are recorded events of the last quarter of the fifteenth century. The author calls himself governor of Meran, and is supposed to have been a native of Franconia. His work shows 15 instances of the word, all in the plural. The first is spelled *cartonen* (p. 9), all the others appear as *cartanen*: pp. 11, 15, 19, 23, 24, 70, 89, 96, 119, 127, 153, 164, 180, 186.

It will not be necessary to cite the later instances, a sufficient number of which are given in the *DWb.*, as well as in *Zs. deu. Wortf.*, xiv, p. 49 f. From these examples it appears that *carton*, *cartan* are the usual forms in the sixteenth century, whereas *kartaune* predominates in the seventeenth.

Practically all the early instances above quoted belong to Southwest Germany, i. e., Suabia and Switzerland. The word also appears early in the North, here usually in the form *kartaw*, *kortaw*. The *DWb.* assumes that these forms without *-n*—the earliest instances there quoted seem to be of the sixteenth century—arose from plural forms *kartaun*, *karton*, in which the *-n* was regarded as the sign of the plural, thus giving a singular *kartaw*. This assumption is now superfluous, as these North-German forms, like those of Dutch, English, and the Scandinavian

languages, are the exact equivalents of the French *courtal*, *courtau*. In this case, also, it was through the military operations of Charles the Bold that the word came into German. Wierstraat's *Histori des beleegs van Nuis*,¹⁷ written 1475 and printed 1476, contains the earliest instances:

Nitarden ind kortauwen
wurden na dar bi gestalt,
ouch waren dair to schauwen
lang slangen mannichvalt (vv. 467 ff.).

Cortauw ind nitart mannichvalt
wurden ten graven ingestalt,
dair mit manch sweerlich schus geschach
(vv. 1585 ff.).

The following instances, from Vol. v of the *Scriptores rerum prussicarum*, describe events of the years 1519 and 1520:

mit allen seynen grossen kartawen, hobetstucken, buxen (p. 509).
Item darzu kartawen und slangen xxiiij, und ander buxen . . . lxvij
(p. 516). darzu hetten sie gewaltige nodtschlangen und kartawen
(p. 532).

Other instances from the sixteenth century are given in the *DWb*.

The following examples are added for the purpose of showing the size and character of the *Kartaune*. Here the context, describing the other species of cannon in use at the same time, is most important. As a preliminary it may be stated that the largest gun of the fifteenth century was usually called *houbtstück* or *mauerbrecher*. This term did not as yet designate a fixed size, but merely the largest size available for siege purposes. About 1440 the city of Basel possessed three guns of this class, weighing

¹⁷ *Chroniken der deutschen Städte*, xx.

respectively 9200, 6800, and 4700 pounds, while the missiles weighed 300, 206, and 110 pounds.¹⁸

In 1476, Albrecht of Brandenburg caused to be cast an even heavier gun, which weighed about 10,000 pounds, was 15 feet long, and shot a missile weighing 250 pounds.¹⁹

According to Brennwald's Chronicle, the following artillery was captured at the battle of Dornach, Jul. 22, 1499: ²⁰

21 stuk büchsen, namlich ein hobtstuk, hat 55 centner, ein cartan, hat 40 centner, ein möscheni (= *messingne*) cartan hat 27 centner, und 5 halbschlangen hatend 29 centner (*i. e.*, together). . . . Item 4 steinbüchsen, schussend in der grössi als bass kuglen, hatend alle 17 centner, und 9 ringer schlangen, haben an züg alle 39 centner . . . suma 21 stuk büchsen, hand an züg 207 centner, an bökli vnd hagen büchsen, deren ouch vil was.

Being short in comparison, the *cartan* of 4000 pounds was probably of just as large a bore as the *hobtstuk* of 5500 pounds, whereas the *halbschlangen*, *steinbüchsen*, and *schlangen*, which ranged from 425 to 580 pounds, must have been very much smaller. The *cartane*, like the *hobtstuk*, was evidently a siege-gun, the others were field-pieces. That these latter, likewise, were not as yet made in standard sizes, can be seen from another inventory of Brennwald (p. 401):

Da fundent si zwo karthanen und ein isine schlang mit ringen, was rot geferwt, und ein schlang was 12 spang und hat 12 centner . . .

Item ein schlang hat 8 centner, und eini hat 10 centner, und was ietwederi 11 spang lang.

Item zwo schlangen; da hat ietwedere 10 centner und was 12 spang lang . . .

¹⁸ *Mitteilungen der antiquarischen Gesellschaft in Zürich*, XXVIII, p. 224.

¹⁹ *Publikationen aus den K. preussischen Staatsarchiven*, LXVII, p. 216.

²⁰ *Quellen zur Schweizer Geschichte*, N. F., I. Abt., II, p. 453.

Item ein schlang, was deren von Rafenspurg, hat 11 centner und was 11 spangen lang.

Item 2 halb schlangen, hatend bed 7 centner; aber zwo halb schlangen hatend bed 9 centner, und was ietwederi 8 spang lang . . .

Item zwo ganz schlangen, hat ietwedere 20 centner . . . Dis was nun gross geschütz.

There is here no gradation of length and weight. In these inventories of the fifteenth century, therefore, *cartane* signifies a comparatively short, but nevertheless large and heavy gun, *i. e.*, a howitzer, whereas *schlange* denotes the longer field-gun, as a rule much lighter than the *cartane*.

As compared with the *houptstück* proper, the *cartane* was probably much more mobile, in fact, it seems from the first to have been mounted on a carriage, whereas the *houptstück* was not. Gay, for example, states *s. v. courtau*:

Ces pièces coulées en bronze se trouvent en 1476 dans l'arsenal de Lille sous le nom de gros bastons. Il résulte d'un compte de 1479 qu'on employa pour la ferrure des affûts de deux courtaux de cette ville 336 livres de fer.

According to Stajessi (p. 116) the Burgundian *Karthon* captured at Grandson (1476) was, in 1503, "monté sur un affût à 2 roues (Reding)."

In the course of the sixteenth century *Kartaune* begins to take on also the more general meaning of 'cannon,' the modern word *Kanone* not coming into the language until the Thirty Years' War. It is thus difficult to determine in all cases whether the old meaning of 'short cannon,' or the more general one is to be assumed. At the same time, various sizes are specified. A letter written Aug. 2, 1504 by a citizen of Cologne contains the earliest mention of *Doppelkartaune*:

geschuitz, dat siner mt. van Lindawe komen ist, nemlich 5 groesser dobbeler kartunen.²¹

²¹ *Mittheilungen aus dem Stadtarchiv Köln*, 11. Hft. (1887), p. 20.

In 1509, a *Zeitung* published by Weller²² mentions a *Mittelkartaune*, apparently not recorded in the dictionaries:

vnd hetten eyne güte grosse quartan, sust tzwil mittell quartan, eyne natschlange, vnd sust etliche schlangen gehabt.

A number of similar entries are to be noted in Vol. VI of the *Basler Chroniken*, recording events of the years 1512-13:

[wurde] ynen alles ir geschütz abgewunnen, by 18 grosser carthonen und sust vil büchsen (p. 36).

Instead of "by 18 grosser carthonen," another report, given in a foot-note, has "16 hauptstück buchsen." On page 45 mention is made of "17 grosser notschlangen, 4 grosser carthonen," and on page 49 are recorded "ein gross und ein klein hauptstück, 4 klein cartonen, ein gutti grosse notschlangen und 6 fakünlin."

In the second half of the sixteenth century the *Kartaune* has a shot of definite weight assigned to it. The *Magdeburger Schöffenchronik*,²³ for example, in recording an event of the year 1551, states:

und sein den 9 tagk Februarii nach mittage sieben grosze stück maurbrecher und Carthaunen . . . ankomen . . . und hat denselbigen tagk 447 schüsse alles zu 50 und 54 pfunden gethan.

In 1551, therefore, the *Kartaune* shot a ball of 50 (or 54?) pounds. The former figure is also given in an *Artilleriebuch* of 1591, cited by Schmeller s. v. *Kartaunen*:

Doppelkharthaunen bey 70 Pfundt Eisen khugel schwer, *halbdoppel kharthaunen*, die man sonst auch *Nachtigalen* nennet, bey 60 Pfd. die Kugel schwer, *Kharthaunen* bey 50 Pfd. die Kugel schwer,

²² *Die ersten deutschen Zeitungen*, hrsg. von Emil Weller [Bibl. Lit. Ver. CXI, p. 13].

²³ *Chroniken der deutschen Städte*, XXVII, p. 49.

Halbkharthaunen, bey 40 Pfd. khugelschweer, *Quartier-karthaunen*, bey 30 oder 35 Pfd. Kugelschweer.

Accordingly, if Fronsperger, between the dates of the two texts here quoted, assigns to the *Kartaune* a shot of 25 pounds, while these authors record 50 pounds, this is one more indication that he is merely trying to make his statement harmonize with the supposed meaning of the assumed Italian form *quartana* and the German *Viertelbüchse*. Moreover, the same method of etymologizing can be shown in the case of other names of guns as recorded by him:²⁴

Ein Matzicana, die wir Teütschen ein Scharpfmetzen nennent (1555); Ein Dupplicana, die wir in Teutscher Sprach ein Nachtgal oder Singerin nennen (1571); Item fünf Trackana, die man nennent zu vnserm teütsch Tracken, oder Notschlangen (1571); Ein Schlanckana, so das ander geschlecht des Feld geschütz, vnd von den Teutschen ein Schlangen genannt wird (1555).

When we consider that *Scharpfmetze*, *Track*, and *Schlange* are the old German names, current long before Fronsperger, it becomes absolutely certain that the pretended Italian forms *Matzicana*, *Trackana* and *Schlanckana* are of our author's own invention. *Duplicana* is explained by the fact that its equivalent *Nachtgal* appears in the *Artilleriebuch* above quoted as *halbdoppel kharthaune*. No trace is to be found in Italian of these fanciful terms,²⁵ which are only another manifestation of the same propensity to etymologizing that is evidenced by the author's definition of *quartana*.

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²⁴ Citations are from Helbling's article, *Zs. deu. Wortf.*, XIV, p. 48 f., where they are given without comment. On p. 26, however, Helbling accepts them as genuine Italian words "mehr oder minder verderbt."

²⁵ The Italian term for *Schlange* is *serpentina*: see the despatches of April 17 and June 15, 1476, quoted above.

IV.—RISING AND FALLING RHYTHM IN ENGLISH VERSE

The question of rising and falling rhythm in English verse has received such various and confusing treatment in recent metrical discussion that further consideration is evidently necessary. It is my purpose to point out the factors that make verse rhythm rising or falling, and to emphasize the importance of vocabulary as one of these factors.

It is generally supposed that there are, in English poetry, four types of feet that may be used continuously: iambic, anapestic, trochaic, dactylic. Of these the first two give a rising rhythm, the second two a falling rhythm, according to our traditional system. The rising rhythm is more emphatic, is more suitable for martial and heroic themes; the falling rhythm is gentler, more lyrical.¹

Difficulties of one kind or another in the application of this conventional system are mentioned by most serious writers about metre. When a poem contains large numbers of both dissyllabic and trisyllabic feet, it is obviously difficult to know whether to call the rhythm iambic or anapestic, trochaic or dactylic. But the difficulty is even greater when the rhythm seems to be both rising and falling in the same line or stanza. In the case of the so-called dactylic poems Professor Saintsbury solves the problem by rejecting the dactyl. "Do what it will, can, and may," he remarks, "it always, in continuous English verse, finds

¹If any reader objects to the words "rising" and "falling" rhythm, he may substitute "iambic-anapestic feet" and "trochaic-dactylic feet." The word "movement" is sometimes used in this paper as a synonym for "rhythm."

itself 'tipping up' and becoming anapestic with anacrusis." ² Professor Lewis finds that lines like

Love took up the harp of Life, and smote on all the
chords with might

"partly succeed in combining the odd charm of the trochaic rhythm with the natural ease of the iambic." ³ Thomson,⁴ Omond,⁵ Alden,⁶ Andrews,⁷ and Jacob ⁸ appreciate the frequent difficulty of distinguishing trochaic and iambic lines. Verrier says that English poets mingle rising and falling rhythm, and, in opposition to accepted opinion, holds that the falling rhythm is predominant.⁹ Finally, in an interesting article in a recent number of the *Modern Language Quarterly* ¹⁰ Mr. M. A. Bayfield tells us that in our ordinary blank verse the rhythm is constantly changing from rising to falling or the reverse, but that the metre—the foot—is invariably falling—that is, trochaic. This means, I judge, that one always measures from the beginning of one stressed syllable to the beginning of the next stressed syllable, but may be conscious of a quite different rhythmical grouping of syllable

² *History of English Prosody*, vol. I, p. 402. The following hexameter line from Kingsley's *Andromeda* he regards as exemplifying the "tipping-up" process:

Over the mountain aloft ran a rush and a roll and a roaring.

³ C. M. Lewis, *The Principles of English Verse*, pp. 105 f.

⁴ *The Basis of English Rhythm*, p. 39.

⁵ *A Study of Metre*, p. 61.

⁶ *An Introduction to Poetry*, pp. 227 ff.

⁷ *The Writing and Reading of Verse*, Chapters VI and XVI.

⁸ *The Foundations and Nature of Verse*, p. 196.

⁹ *Principes de la Métrique Anglaise*, vol. I, p. 157.

¹⁰ Vol. XIII, pp. 157 ff. Bayfield's *The Measures of the Poets* (published since this article was written) and a discussion in the *Athenaeum* beginning with Professor Saintsbury's hostile review in the number for November 7, 1919, may be consulted.

bles. Bayfield's position, therefore, is not essentially different from that of Verrier, nor, I should add, from that of Jacob.

If these and other students of metre show a tendency toward agreement in the opinion that the measurement of verse, at least the time measurement, is from accented syllable to accented syllable,¹¹ they are far from agreement as to rising and falling rhythm—that is, as to the use which should be made of the terms *iambic*, *anapestic*, *trochaic*, and *dactylic*. Before we can create out of this chaos an accepted view of rising and falling rhythm, we must, I believe, have clearly in mind the factors which determine this rhythm. The most serious mistake in the past has been that of relying almost wholly on the beginning of the line. Even Mr. Andrews, who is unusually careful and sane, and recognizes difficulties in “sustaining trochaic and dactylic effects,” says: “Evidently, then, . . . a movement is established purely by whether a line begins with direct attack or not,” by which he means “whether or not the first bar [vertical line marking the beginning of the first foot] is preceded by a syllable.” I regard the beginning of the line as only one of several factors. The complete list is as follows:

(1) The expectation of the recurrence of a rhythm which seems to the reader to be dominant. This expectation is of course created by other factors, but it tends to sustain a rhythm when it is once suggested.

(2) The arrangement of syllables at the beginning of the line.

(3) The arrangement of syllables at the end of the line.

¹¹ More accurately, from the beginning of the vowel in one stressed syllable to the beginning of the vowel in the next stressed syllable. However, there is not agreement on this, as Jacob's discussion of *accent* shows.

(4) The arrangement of syllables before and after the caesura.

(5) Weak endings of the line, run-over lines, and irregularities.

(6) The phrases, which usually suggest rising or falling rhythm.

(7) The vocabulary. For example, a natural trochee (like *gentle*) is always opposed to iambic movement and is usually divided between (so-called) iambic feet. A natural iambus emphasizes the iambic movement.

Each of these factors deserves brief comment:

1. The expectation of the recurrence of a particular movement is, of course, of very great importance. Some students would say that the movement is subjectively present as a kind of pattern into which the words and phrases fit with more or less accuracy, and that the subjective rhythm is maintained, usually without interruption, after it has been established by the first few lines of a poem. Mr. Andrews holds this view; and he has discussed in a very interesting fashion the importance of the relation of spondaic, trochaic, iambic, anapestic, and dactylic phrasing to the movement of various passages. My objections to his position are two: (*a*) There is evidence that some readers do not recognize this uninterrupted subjective rhythm; and (*b*) the suggestion that there must be such a subjective rhythm tends to create it, with the unfortunate result that for some students the subtle variations of the movement are sacrificed to this factitious regularity.

2. The importance of the beginning of the lines does not need emphasis; it has been too much emphasized already. It is true that Poe and Professor Brander Matthews¹² hold the lines of Byron beginning

¹² Poe, "The Rationale of Verse," and Brander Matthews, *A Study of Versification*, p. 27.

Know ye the land where the cypress and myrtle
 Are emblems of deeds that are done in their clime,
 Where the rage of the vulture, the love of the turtle,
 Now melt into sorrow, not madden to crime?

to be continuously dactylic—that is, written and to be read without regard to the division into lines. But others—in fact most readers, I believe—feel them as a combination of dactylic and anapestic, or as hovering between the two. In poems like *L'Allegro* the absence of an unstressed syllable at the beginning of the line is almost always taken to mean a trochaic rhythm, even though the previous line may have been presumably iambic with feminine ending.

3. But the end of the line is also important for establishing the rhythm. If there is regularly an unaccented syllable at the end of the line, it in most cases merely completes a normally trochaic line. But suppose the line ends as well as begins with the unaccented syllable, as in the following passage from Peacock:

The mountain sheep are sweeter,
 But the valley sheep are fatter;
 We therefore deemed it meeter
 To carry off the latter.
 We made an expedition;
 We met an host and quelled it;
 We forced a strong position
 And killed the men who held it.

Does one feel that the syllable at the end of each of these lines is merely extra? Some readers at least do not. I find that my ear attaches it to the preceding stressed syllable. This at once tends to upset the iambic movement. Moreover, I find that this expectation of the unaccented syllable affects also the syllables preceding the last stressed syllable; that is, I am inclined to attach other unstressed syllables to the stressed syllables preceding. Consequently, there is more or less conflict between falling and rising

rhythm, and it may be that the two are almost in equilibrium if the poem as a whole is considered.¹³ The weakening effect of the frequent use of eleven-syllabled lines in blank verse seems to me to be partly due to the trochaic rhythm suggested.

On the other hand, the absence of the unaccented syllable at the end of a line ordinarily called trochaic has a corresponding but opposite effect. There is a tendency to join the last unaccented syllable to the final stressed syllable, and the rhythm is consequently not so clearly felt to be falling; indeed, many feel it to be rising rather than falling. The reader may test this assertion by going over a page of Meredith's *Woods of Westermain*.

4. It is fairly obvious that the caesural pause has an effect approximating that of the end pause. That is, it breaks the flow of words and gives the reader the impression of making a fresh start rhythmically. Consequently, the masculine caesura (that is, the caesura following a stressed syllable) emphasizes rising rhythm: (a) because of the tendency to join the stressed syllable at the caesura to the unstressed syllable or syllables immediately preceding, and (b) because of the tendency to join the unstressed syllable or syllables immediately following the caesura to the next stressed syllable. A feminine caesura has precisely the opposite effect. However, in many iambic pentameter verses the effect of the feminine caesura is weakened by the prevailing end-stopped lines, which provide a very strong emphasis for the iambic movement. Even in this

¹³ One may suspect that the poet himself did not feel that he was writing the ordinary iambic verse, for here and there he introduces an additional stressed syllable at the beginning of the line, as in the second line of the stanza given above, making it, if read separately, completely trochaic. There are four such lines in the forty lines of the poem.

case, the occasional feminine caesura interrupts somewhat the iambic monotony.

5. I group together here irregularities and other characteristics which are not in themselves important, but which may be important in connection with the more decisive factors. A weak ending of the line in a poem dominantly iambic, or a weak ending of a phrase preceding a masculine caesura, and the so-called inverted foot, facilitate, by destroying the impression of a fixed movement, the change from rising to falling rhythm, and the reverse. Run-over lines have a similar value, for the suggestion of rhythm created by a line ending regularly with a strong pause can scarcely be overcome. For instance, in the end-stopped decasyllabic line, the repeated emphasis on the stressed final syllable strengthens the tendency to regard the rhythm as rising; the run-over line, on the other hand, does not fix the attention on any part of the line, and so permits the reader to feel subtle variations of cadence. The so-called inverted foot, the spondee, and the pyrrhic may also be mentioned as irregularities which interrupt and weaken the steady rhythmic march.

6. The phrase is obviously important in respect to rising or falling rhythm. Mr. Jacob regards the beginning of the phrase as the most important factor in determining whether the unstressed syllable belongs to the stressed syllable which follows or to that which precedes—that is, in determining whether the rhythm is rising or falling.¹⁴ Important as this factor is, however, Mr. Jacob has certainly over-emphasized it.¹⁵ In fact, since most phrases end with line or caesura, it need not be regarded as a

¹⁴ *The Foundations and Nature of Verse*, pp. 196 f.

¹⁵ Mr. Jacob's exaggerated claims for the phrase at the expense of the line are criticized by his reviewer in *Modern Language Notes*, vol. xxxiv, p. 62.

factor distinct from the end of the line and the caesura in the way that single words are. Nevertheless, it should be said that the numerous monosyllables in English make a large number of phrases with rising rhythm, since the unstressed words, particularly the articles and prepositions, usually come at the beginning of the phrase, and the strongly stressed words at the end.

7. The importance of vocabulary for technique of verse has been made clear in *A Study of Metrics* by the late Miss Adelaide Crapsey, whose untimely death put an end to investigations of wide range. She was interested particularly in the relation of vocabulary to weighting and secondary stress. But vocabulary has an important relation also to rising and falling rhythm.

The desirability of having words divided between feet has often been pointed out by students of metre. Poems in the iambic metre are said to be more effective than those in the trochaic metre because, since most dissyllabic words are accented on the first syllable, the former have numerous words which link the feet together, while the latter have relatively few. Professor Lewis questions the theory on the ground that "iambic verses ought to be similarly choppy and unpleasing when their dissyllabic words happen to be oxytones" and he cannot discover that they are.¹⁶ He proceeds to invent a few lines in which oxytones are numerous and paroxytones absent.

Each star that shines aloft in the blue vault,
 Aloof, remote, by blank bare deeps disjoined
 From its compeers, throbs yet in full accord
 With their sweet hymn of praise,—if we concede
 As bards assure us, that the stars do sing.
 So when a shy recluse forswears the world,
 Secludes himself in some far-off retreat,

¹⁶ *Principles of English Verse*, p. 103.

Assumes strange clothes, and then repeats long prayers,
 Does he suppose himself quite set apart
 From all mankind? As well might man presume
 To make repeal of God's divine decrees.

Professor Lewis remarks: "To my ear, the fact that the passage contains 24 oxytones and no paroxytones may, perhaps, give it some stiffness of cadence which might better be varied; but I can detect no effect even remotely resembling the choppiness of *Hiawatha*."

Now, whether one agrees with Professor Lewis or not in regard to these lines, it is evident that the numerous oxytones, most of them dissyllables, have a marked rhythmic effect. They intensify the iambic movement and certainly account—in part, at least—for the absence of flow. Personally, I should be inclined to call the effect choppy and to say that a continuation for two or three pages would be intolerable. Moreover, the presence of frequent oxytones in longer poems in the trochaic metre is certainly a welcome relief. On this, however, I shall not dwell. The point I wish to make is that in blank verse or heroic couplets, for example, numerous iambic words emphasize rising rhythm, while numerous trochaic words tend to introduce a counter movement which hinders and interrupts the rising rhythm. Whether the effect is desirable or undesirable depends upon the passage. In the following lines from Tennyson's *Oenone* most of the dissyllables and polysyllables suggest a falling rhythm:

Idalian Aphrodite beautiful,
 Fresh as the foam, new-bathed in Paphian wells,
 With rosy, slender fingers backward drew
 From her warm brows and bosom her deep hair
 Ambrosial, golden round her lucid throat
 And shoulder; from the violets her light foot
 Shone rosy-white, and o'er her rounded form
 Between the shadows of the vine-bunches
 Floated the glowing sunlights, as she moved.

Surely no reader can fail to note that these lines have a rhythm utterly different from the rhythm of Professor Lewis's lines, and that Tennyson's lines are much less distinctly iambic, much less distinctly rising. If one repeats them without looking at the printed page or thinking particularly of lines, one may well feel that the rhythm is not rising, but rather falling.

I believe most readers agree that the Tennysonian lines are effective; that the soft and luxurious effect of the falling rhythm suggested by the numerous trochaic words is suited to the theme. But this does not mean that they would be suitable for all themes and for all poets. If a strong iambic march is needed, then the iambic words are effective. They are plentiful in *Paradise Lost*, and therefore *Paradise Lost* has a more masculine and stately rhythm than *Oenone*.

Another factor in the relation of vocabulary to rising and falling rhythm is the position of the word in the line. In iambic pentameter, the last two syllables are of peculiar importance for establishing rhythm. It is obvious, of course, that—in most poems at least—the iambic word will appear more frequently in this position than in any other. However, there are great variations in English poetry in this respect. Milton, for example, has a much larger percentage of his iambic words in the last place in the line than Keats has.¹⁷ That is, Milton in this way emphasizes masculine rhythm, whereas Keats and Tennyson do not. The importance of this factor is shown in the table which follows:

¹⁷ Mr. Jacob (*Foundations and Nature of Verse*, pp. 166 f.) denies that the line is a rhythmical unit except in so far as it coincides with the phrase and suggests, at least, that in run-over blank verse the line is a mere convention. Milton, however, is clearly conscious of the line as a unit, as the percentages in the table which follows show.

DISSYLLABIC WORDS

IAMBIC
WORDS

LAMIC WORDS	<i>Hero and Leander</i>	<i>First Sestiyad</i>	<i>Paradise Lost Book II</i>	<i>Hind and the Panther I</i>	<i>Essay on Man II</i>	<i>Deserted Village</i>	<i>Traveller</i>	<i>Task I</i>	<i>Endymion I</i>	<i>Hyperion I, II</i>	<i>Morte D'Arthur</i>	<i>Oenone</i>	<i>Aurora Leigh</i>	<i>Sohrab and Rustum</i>	<i>Love of Alcestis</i>	<i>Marpessa</i>
1, 2	14.2	16.8	12.3	14.6	19.1	13.5	13.7	20.	18.1	15.6	22.8	23.8	12.9	20.8	18.9	
2, 3	18.9	12.7	16.2	18.2	14.5	14.5	12.7	2.	24.	28.1	19.	1.2	17.	18.6	18.9	
3, 4	11.8	16.2	12.6	10.2	11.8	13.1	15.7	17.	19.6	15.6	14.	10.8	23.2	20.4	14.2	
4, 5	16.	13.7	15.2	10.2	11.8	9.8	16.5	18.3	15.2	20.3	19.	1.	14.5	18.	17.9	
5, 6	39.1	39.2	43.	46.7	42.7	49.1	41.5	28.7	21.6	20.3	22.8	31.6	25.8	27.7	25.5	
6, 7																
7, 8																
8, 9																
9, 10																
10, 11																
11, 12																
Total	24.4	33.7	32.2	29.5	22.	27.3	25.8	17.2	19.5	17.8	16.	20.9	16.8	28.8	22.3	

TROCHAIC
WORDS

1, 2	5.5	7.1	2.7	5.8	2.4	1.8	2.2	5.4	5.8	5.1	6.6	1.	7.4	4.5	5.7
2, 3	20.4	24.9	25.8	19.5	22.4	20.7	28.	21.1	18.8	17.9	18.7	23.2	19.3	20.3	21.7
3, 4	22.7	24.	27.5	29.9	23.5	24.3	22.4	24.5	22.	26.8	27.1	27.3	25.3	27.1	25.2
4, 5	1.5	.4					.2	.7	.7	.7	.8		.5	.9	.8
5, 6	23.6	19.2	21.	27.1	26.7	26.8	21.5	20.1	24.3	27.5	22.7	27.4	23.6	22.8	20.6
6, 7	23.2	22.6	22.9	17.7	25.	26.4	25.8	23.9	26.3	22.	21.5	21.	22.9	24.1	23.5
7, 8															
8, 9															
9, 10															
10, 11	2.5	.9						3.7	1.8		2.		.3		1.6
Total	75.6	66.3	67.8	70.5	78.	72.7	74.2	82.8	80.5	82.2	84.	79.1	83.2	71.2	77.7

CAESTRAS

Masculine	68.1	66.	61.8	52.7	69.6	62.4	57.01	56.1	60.	52.8	42.9	40.5	67.	63.8	57.6
Feminine	31.9	34.	38.2	47.3	30.4	37.6	42.99	43.9	40.	47.2	57.1	59.5	33.	36.2	42.4

The poems represented in this table are all in heroic couplets or blank verse. The figures in the first column indicate the place in the line—1,2 standing for the first position and 9,10 for the last position in the normal decasyllabic line. The percentages of iambic words and trochaic words in the various parts of the line are thus shown. The totals are the percentages of iambic words and trochaic words in the total number of dissyllables. Spondees have been classified, in most cases, according to metrical stress, as either iammbuses or trochees. Trisyllabic words having almost the value of dissyllables have, in many cases, been treated as dissyllables; and I may not always have been consistent in regard to them. The changes in percentages caused by any changes in the methods of classifying dissyllables would, however, not be important. The table on page 19 of *A Study of Metrics* may be consulted by persons interested in the variations of percentages of iambic and trochaic words in the different books of *Paradise Lost* and the epistles of the *Essay on Man*. I have selected Book II and Epistle II of the *Essay on Man*, because these furnish percentages nearer the average for the entire poems than the percentages for Book I and Epistle I. I have included the percentages of masculine and feminine caesuras, using Morton's percentages¹⁸ of caesuras within feet and at the end of feet for *Paradise Lost*, *The Task*, *Hyperion*, and *Sohrab and Rustum*. These would be masculine and feminine respectively except in the case of caesuras within or following the so-called inverted feet. Since exact percentages are not required, I have used Morton's method of counting the caesuras by punctuation marks.

¹⁸ E. P. Morton, *The Technique of English Non-Dramatic Blank Verse*, p. 48.

The table suggests many questions which I shall not discuss; most of them would require more data for satisfactory answers. The following comments, however, seem permissible:

1. The table shows marked differences between the poets of the nineteenth century and their predecessors. The earlier poets—except the one sixteenth-century poet, Marlowe—have a larger proportion of iambic words in the total number of dissyllables. This is especially true of Milton, Dryden, and Pope. In Goldsmith and Cowper we have a somewhat smaller proportion of iambic words—a proportion apparently not far from that of the average prose writer. In the nineteenth-century poets, the proportion of iambic words is small except for Morris.

The distribution of the iambic words in the line even more markedly distinguishes the romantic poets of the nineteenth century from their predecessors. All of the poets before 1800 have more than 39 per cent. of the iambic words in the last place in the line; all after 1800 have less than 30, except Mrs. Browning, who has 31.6.

3. In respect to the caesuras, the nineteenth-century poets and their predecessors are nearly alike. Most poets decidedly prefer the masculine caesura. Tennyson and Mrs. Browning are exceptions.

4. The nineteenth-century poets have, for the most part, a much stronger tendency than their predecessors toward falling rhythms. The end-stopped couplet offers little opportunity for variety of movement. In Milton there is great variety, but the predominating rising, masculine movement is maintained. Tennyson has variety with a predilection for the falling movement. Other nineteenth-century poets, notably Arnold, save themselves from the feminine quality of the abundant trochaic words by means of the predominant masculine caesura.

I am aware that my contention that rising or falling rhythm depends largely upon the vocabulary must be tested by each reader for himself, and I am also aware that not all readers will come to the same conclusion. However, that vocabulary may emphasize a dominant rhythm will, I assume, be granted. The first of the following conclusions, therefore, should be acceptable to all:

1. The study of the technique of a poem or poetic passage must include a careful consideration of the vocabulary. In this I emphatically agree with Miss Crapsey, although for a different—or rather, additional—reason.

2. Dogmatic assertions that the rhythm of particular passages is iambic or trochaic, anapestic, or dactylic, are often misleading, because readers cannot agree about the subtle and frequent changes of movement that characterize much of our good poetry—particularly if the lines contain ten syllables or more. Where one feels rhythm, there *is* rhythm; and so long as our minds and bodies differ, no one can distinguish right rhythm from wrong rhythm.

3. The practice of indicating by bars that a poem is composed of “iambic feet” or “trochaic feet” should be abandoned. If used at all, the bars should show the temporal units—that is, the periods between strong stresses.

4. The teacher should encourage the student to feel the variations of rhythm, particularly changes from rising to falling or from falling to rising, recognizing that rhythm is sometimes wavering or neither distinctly rising nor distinctly falling. Suggestions of uniformity of rhythm may easily bring about the uniformity by creating or fixing what is called “subjective rhythm.”

5. The relative importance of the factors which make rhythm rising or falling varies with the individual readers. Investigation, however, might enable us to understand better what each of these means for the average reader.

For example, it might show whether the end of the line is more important than the beginning for determining the character of the movement, whether the line is more important than the phrase, and whether the phrase is more important than the word.

HERBERT L. CREEK

V.—SPENSER'S IMITATIONS FROM ARIOSTO— ADDENDA

In the June issue of last year (vol. xxxiv, no. 2, pp. 225 ff.) Mr. A. H. Gilbert published supplementary notes to my old paper on Spenser's imitations from Ariosto. Since he has brought the matter forward once more, I may as well supplement his supplement with a few stray addenda of my own, which I have stumbled on at intervals since 1897. Some of these were first observed by Upton, whose notes, as quoted in Todd's edition of 1805, had at that time escaped my attention. The list is confined to the ground covered by my old paper; it has nothing to do with the field opened by Mr. Gilbert, Spenser's conclusions and transitions in the manner of Ariosto.

BOOK I

VI, 24. For the education of Satyrane Upton refers to *O. F.*, vii, 57, where the education of Ruggiero, as told in *Orl. Innam.*, Bk. III, c. v, st. 35-37, is glanced at. He refers to other likely sources as well.

BOOK II

XII, 86. At the close of this canto, which he has taken over in bulk from Tasso, Spenser seems to revert to Ariosto. Armida's retreat is defended by wild beasts (*G. L.*, xiv, 73; xv, 51 f.), but these are not transformed lovers, without which the Bower of Bliss would be meaningless. Spenser finds these in the corresponding episode of Ariosto, whose Alcina transforms her discarded lovers into trees, rocks, etc. (*O. F.*, vi, 26 ff.). When Alcina is robbed of Ruggiero and defeated, the enchantress Melissa sets these lovers free (viii, 14 f.). Spenser has naturally

kept the beasts of Armida, since they are parts of his main original, but he has used them after the model of Alcina's victims.

BOOK III

I, 8. One of the minor reminiscences of Bradamante's first appearance in the *Furioso*, *O. F.*, I, 69-71.

I, 11, line 5 f. Another. Cf. *O. F.*, I, 67, lines 1-4.

V, 26-50. This whole episode of Belpheobe and Timias is grounded on the Angelica-Medoro episode of *O. F.*, XIX, 16-30, with interesting changes. As Medoro grows well Angelica falls sick—of love, with the natural result. In Spenser the situation and the result are reversed. Upton has indicated one angle of the relationship.

VIII, 28. The situation of Florimell assaulted by the fisherman resembles that of Angelica assaulted by the friar. Angelica is freed from him by the corsairs of Ebuda, only to be exposed to the Orc. It is at this later stage of her miseries that Ariosto breaks out in the stanza adapted by Spenser, *O. F.*, VIII, 68.

BOOK IV

I, 47 ff. Ate rousing Scudamour's jealousy, out of mere spite, by persuading him that Amoret has deserted him for Britomart, resembles Gabrina (both are hags) playing on Zerbino with her lie about Isabella, *O. F.*, XX, 134-142. The general situation is the same: Amoret accompanying Britomart, who has rescued her from thrall-dom; Isabella accompanying Orlando, who has rescued her from thrall-dom. Both pairs of lovers are, of course, reunited, by chance encounter, *F. Q.*, IV, ix, 38 f. (Upton's note); *O. F.*, XXIII, 63 ff.

VI, 16, lines 8, 9. Upton refers to *O. F.*, XLV, 80. The situation as a whole is more closely related to the Tancredi-Clorinda duel of *G. L.*, III, 21 ff.

R. E. NEIL DODGE.

VI.—WAR JOURNALISM THREE HUNDRED YEARS AGO

Of all the agencies involved in the great world-war, the newspapers, at the outbreak of hostilities, were more ready than any other for the demands placed upon them. Regiments had to be raised, munitions and supplies had to be provided, and means of transportation, in the face of dangers never confronted before, had to be assured. But the special correspondents were at once ready to take their posts at the front, and the newspapers at home were equipped to put the news in the most graphic form before the reading public.

Conditions in England were far different when that country, almost three hundred years ago, saw the outbreak of a struggle as momentous in every way as this world-war has been. Journalism was then in its infancy. The regular appearance of a newspaper under a fixed name was hardly known, and, until 1641, the few short-lived papers that appeared were restricted by the watchful activities of the licenser of the press to foreign news. The difficulty of getting news; the lack of postal facilities for circulating the papers; and the ever present menace of the licensing act, all these checked the natural growth of journalism. But the great Civil War, which broke out in 1642, changed all this. Plenty of news at home was in the making; the public, bitterly partisan for one cause or the other, was eager to be informed; and the power of the licenser was shattered as the government lost control. So a new opportunity was opened up to the pamphleteers of London, and the Civil War may be regarded as the most potent force that ever operated on the development of journalism in England.

It is interesting to turn from the metropolitan daily of to-day, with its columns of cable dispatches, its reports of special war correspondents, its maps and profusely illustrated weekly supplements, to the small, five or six-inch news-books that served the needs of the seventeenth century. They were virtually books rather than papers or sheets, for they were cut and printed like the other pamphlets of the day. And how strange the titles now sound, devised, as they were, not simply for identification but for information as well. *A continuation of certain speciall and remarkable passages informed to both houses of Parliament and otherwise from divers parts of this kingdome; A perfect diurnall of the passages in Parliament more fully and exactly taken than by any other printed copies, as you will finde upon comparing; Oxford diurnall: communicating the intelligence, and affaires of the court, to the rest of the kingdome; The Kingdomes weekly intelligence: sent abroad to prevent mis-information.* Surely, the men and women who cried such titles on the streets of London were strong of lung. Copies of these old papers are to be found still in some of the large libraries of this country, their pages yellowed with age and frayed by use. Under the title one looks in vain for the large type of our day; a single headline from one of the current dailies would have filled almost a whole issue of *Mercurius Britanicus*. One of the papers, *A Perfect Diurnall of the Passages in Parliament*, was adorned often with a cut, arranged about three sides of the title, representing a group of shovel-hatted Puritan statesmen seated at the council table. In other issues of this news-book the initial letter was printed in the middle of a little picture representing a vessel out at sea under full sail. But in the main the printer used, and quite arbitrarily, only two fonts of type, a small Roman and italics, though he was

always free to drop from a large to a small type if he found himself pressed for space in the setting. Yet the little, six or eight-page news-books must have seemed to the citizens of Milton's London the acme of perfection, and, supplemented as they often were by the manuscript additions of the first purchaser, they really gave the news that the people craved.

One may take as a typical specimen of these papers *Many Remarkable Passages from both Houses of Parliament*, for May 19, 1642. The King, it is announced, has determined to remove the next term of Parliament from Westminster to York. Accordingly, "this House, taking the said matter into consideration, hath Voted: That the Kings removall of the Terme to Yorke, from Westminster, during sitting of this Parliament, is illegal." The Commons also voted "that whosoever hee were that should attach or imprison either the said Members, or any other of each House, imployed on their service, should be accounted as an enemy to the State and Commonwealth." Another item tells how "Mistresse Sanders, living at Ratcliffe, was examined by the House charged with aiding her brother Oneale to escape." All of these bits of news are briefly summarized on the title-page, where there is almost as much information given as on the six pages of the little news-book.

The student, therefore, familiar with the history of the time, will look in vain for the "featuring" of important news. The items are customarily introduced by the news-writer in such phrases as these: "a true relation," "a true and exact relation," "there came letters from Northampton on Monday last," "Wednesday a Hat-full of Letters being intercepted," "it is informed that Lord Gray," and "the last newes from the West is very variously reported." Occasionally, the index finger of a printed hand called

attention to an item of importance. For example, in *A Perfect Diurnall of the Passages in Parliament* (No. 45, Apr. 10, 1643) such a device points toward the marginal comment: "Note, herein is a true relation of another great victory attained by Sir William Waller (not inferiour to any of the rest) against P. Maurice, & his taking Tewxbury and the Magazine there." But ordinarily even such vital news as the battle at Newbury was not especially stressed. *The Kingdomes Weekly Intelligencer* (No. 10) in March, 1643, announced in its ordinary style that "the sad newes came to towne on Saturday last of the death of the Lord Brooke, who was shot dead with a Musket Bullet as hee was looking out of a window, after he had entred the Town of Lichfield by Assault, and offered quarter to the Earle of Chesterfield." Other papers gave a fuller account of the treacherous shooting; but this journal simply added as an editorial judgment: "no Englishman had more devoted himselfe and his fortunes as a sacrifice to the cause in hand, then his Lordship had done," and recorded that "the Common-Souldiers as soone as he was slaine, were so enraged, that they vowed to give no quarter to the Earle of Chesterfield, nor any of the Forces of the Colledge."

The common formulae for introducing the various items of each week's news are proof of the accidental means of obtaining it. Rumor and surmise were still the journalists' chief recourses. And there were times when even such news was wanting. The Puritan editor of *Speciall Passages and Certain Informations from severall Places, collected for the Use of all that desire to be truely informed*, was simply more frank than other writers when he admitted, "so little of action hath been this last weeke in the Armies, that much cannot be here expected." Naturally, then, the regularity of these weeklies was often

interrupted. *A Continuation* begins in one issue (No. 52) with this explanation: "some occasions more then ordinary, hath caused an intermission of the Diurnall these two weekes past, for which I must Apologize my Excuse, and promise a more constant and elaborate continuation for the time comming." Such good intentions often came to nought; one paper, in fact, expired with its promise of greater regularity in the future.

The news-books appeared professedly once a week, at first on Mondays to catch the single mail sent each week from London to the country, and later on Thursdays or Fridays, when a second post-day was arranged for. The royalist journal at Oxford had the hardihood to come forth on Saturday evening; but Puritan scruples over the Sabbath discountenanced the act, and Tuesdays remained the commonest day for the dissemination of news. Consequently, from week to week, as news came slowly in, the rival weeklies had varying fortunes in getting possession first of important news. And repetition, of course, was common, since no one editor could afford to neglect a story just printed by a competitor. According to an item in the *Continuation* (No. 30), a trunk was "intercepted upon the Thames neare London, . . . wherein was found a Packett of letters comming from the Queene and some others in Holland, which for the present are not to be reviled, there was also a great Pye found in the Trunck, but it is thought there will be found to be but unsavory meat in it when it is cutt up." This same story, with its innuendo, was repeated a few days later in *A Perfect Diurnall*. Such repetition must be where there is no general distributing agency for news, and where papers do not appear each day.

Just as necessarily the various papers were full of contradictory reports, and charges were frequently made of

falsification and misrepresentation. The *Continuation* in 1643 reported the defeat of a royalist force (No. 26): "It is certainly informed that the Gloucestershire Forces fell upon Sir John Byron in his quarters at a town called Burford (which is adjoyning upon Gloucestershire) on Newyeares Eve, and killed about seven of his men, wounded the said Sir John, hurt many of his souldiers, and tooke twenty horse in one stable, and had it not been so late at night, that it was so dark they could not pursue them, they had given him a very great overthrow, and taken a brave booty." A quite different account of the fray was published in the *Oxford Diurnall*. On the thirtieth of December, according to this royalist authority, Sir John was ordered to lead his detachment to Burford. There he was attacked by five hundred rebels, who had been stationed at Cirencester. Sir John drove the attacking party "to the farther end of the lane where the Inn standeth, into which they ran, and into which he entring pell mell with them, received a blow on the face with a Pole-axe, or halbard." The building by that time was crowded with rebel musketeers, and Sir John was on horseback unarmed. Accordingly, he returned to the market cross, reformed his troopers, and, storming the inn, drove the rebels out by the back door. The victors pursued the fleeing Roundheads six miles, but "being the night was wondrous darke and the Moone not risen, few of them could be overtaken." Only one of Sir John's troopers was killed and four injured. After this fashion the news was selected or manipulated to suit the cause, and each party accused the other of deceit. "If they fight and are beaten," a royalist journal complained, "then either they deny it, and give thanks for a victory; or else confess some small losse, which God sent to them by his speciall Provi-

dence to draw the Cavaleirs into further destruction.”¹ Another royalist paper, *Mercurius Aulicus*, asserted (No. 4): “it doth passe for currant in the streets of London . . . that the Kings forces have the worst in all their enterprises; . . . and to beguile the people with the greater artifice, prisoners are led in triumph through the City, as if they had beene taken in those severall actions. Were it not that they did apply such Cordials, to keepe up the dejected spirits of their broken party, the cause had long ago beene subject unto fainting fits.” Since the old Stuart days party enmity has not greatly changed its character.

A still more interesting divergence in the reports of the press was brought about by the affairs at Gloucester in 1643. The raising of the siege was so essential to the Puritans’ cause that one of their journals declared: “the brave exploits of Colonell Massy in defending of Gloucester against the great body of the Kings army at this time challengeth our chiefest thoughts.” Already, the editor announced, the besiegers had made several assaults only to be repulsed with heavy losses. Another attack yielded momentary possession of the city’s outer fortifications; but “the Governour so thundered with his great and smale shot about their Eares, that he soone beate them from all their advantages” and forced them to retreat with the loss of 1500 men. Thereupon the King’s forces intrenched themselves about the city, and Colonel Massey reported to Parliament that he could not hold his position more than fourteen days.²

The subsequent incidents of the siege are more fully given in *Mercurius Britanicus*. Lord Essex was sent by Parliament to the relief of the city. “Besides his owne

¹ *The Round-heads Remembrancer*, May 16, 1643.

² *A Continuation*, no. 52, Aug. 25, 1643.

Army, there is gone to his assistance two Regiments of the Trained Bands of London, and three Regiments of Auxiliaries, each Regiment compleating one with another a thousand men; besides a Regiment of Horse from the City, and Recrutes from his broken Regiments." The editor ventured to prophesy: "If Gloucester hold out till Friday next the businesse will be disputed, (as no doubt they will) for on Wednesday last they were in that condition in the Towne, that they sallied, fought bravely, and retreated with honour, and brought in many Prisoners."

Despite this success, a report came to London from Oxford that the garrison had surrendered, the messenger asserting that he had been "an eye-witnesse of the King's entring Gloucester on Tuesday last." The editor of *Mercurius Britanicus* (Nos. 1, 3, 6), however, on *a priori* grounds stoutly denied the truth of this report, and the next week had proof to give. For a boy from the city had made his way into the royalist camp, professing to have been kept a prisoner by the defenders. He had learned there all that he could of the besiegers' plans and then hurried on to London with the news. By that time the garrison had been apprised by signal fires of the approaching aid, and within a few days the enemy was forced to retire, though not until the city's magazines were reduced to two barrels of powder. Then the trained bands returned to London and "marched in Triumph into the City in companies so full, that it could hardly be discerned any were missing, every man having a green bough (as they had in the battle) in his hat, and generally declared a resolution, that when ever his Excellency . . . would command their service againe, they would readily advance."

Feeling naturally ran high as the war went on, and there was a great deal of editorial recrimination between

the papers on the opposed sides. The *Oxford Diurnall*, which was afterwards called *Mercurius Aulicus*, in justification of its first appearance, had a word of this sort to say. "The world hath long enough been abused with falsehoods: And there's a weekly cheat put out to nourish the abuse amongst the people, and make them pay for their seducement. And that the world may see that the Court is neither so barren of intelligence, as it is conceived; nor the affaires thereof in so unprosperous a condition, as these Pamphlets make them, it is thought fit to let them truly understand the state of things that so they may no longer pretend ignorance, or bee deceived with untruths." In this more refined and literary style the *Oxford Diurnall* made its first appeal; but it was soon forced, by the ribald wit of *Mercurius Britannicus*, to stoop to the level of the partizan press. The Puritan contemporary professed to be informed that a Bishop, a cavalier, and a courtier always collaborated with *Aulicus*, and that they would never suffer him to tell anything truthfully, assuring him "it was no matter what lies they writ, for some people would take them all for truth." In this fashion the bickering between the rivals went on. *Britannicus* announced in one issue that *Aulicus* had been surprised and "no fewer than five hundred lies were taken prisoners," and that the press at Oxford was again busy "recruting him fast." So the editor "passed by Master Aulicus" each week before turning to the news at hand, until finally he announced: "winter comming fast on, and Aulicus growing thin of wit . . . he took cold the last week, and kept his chamber, . . . he is now come abroad though very weake. . . . I thinke shortly we shall hear of his Funeralls; I shall onely desire they may winde up his body in one of his own sheetes, and that he may go to the ground like himselfe; and this I shall say of him when

he is dead, That I have read as ingenious fallacies in him, as in any of his Majesties Declarations."

The Puritan papers of London plainly reflected the enthusiasm of the city, and until 1647 even the sale of royalist papers was hardly tolerated on the streets. When the King asked for a conference over the difficulties at Brentford, Parliament decided "to spend no more time in making replies to his Maiestie concerning the treaty," for the royalists aimed simply "to spin out time, whereby they may weary us out and spend the stock of the Kingdome, untill such time as they shall receive their supplies from Holland, which they daily expect, and so much brag of." The soldiers under Essex, with as much determination, declared "that many dayes shall not passe them before they will give the Kingdom a sufficient token of their forwardnesse." And this promise "so farr enlivened the Citizens of London, that they are resolved to assist the Parliament with their lives and fortunes." Accordingly, they brought "money and plate into Guild-Hall with extraordinary freeness; forwarded "great store of bread and cheese, meat tobacco and other things to the Army"; and resolved that Essex "shall not want moneys so long as their estates last." For these "large disbursements" Parliament thanked the city and promised restitution from the malignants' estates.³

Other Puritan news-books, however, compel us to discount somewhat this estimate of the city's generosity. Only a few days later *A Perfect Diurnall* (No. 26) reported that several parishes in London had not subscribed their quotas "for pay money for souldiers and Arms." At once church wardens and constables were ordered to assemble the delinquents and "to deale effectually with

³ *A Continuation*, no. 21, Dec. 1, 1642.

them to subscribe for the furthering of Arms and money for payment of Souldiers." The officials were further authorized to "repaire to the houses and places of abroad of such as shall not appeare at such meeting as well free men as others, and take their subscriptions for the purposes aforesaid and that they keepe a booke or roll for that purpose." As an additional source of revenue the Commons also agreed on an "Excise upon Wine Beare Tobacco, and severall other unnecessary commodities," and the saving of "a meales meat once a week" was even proposed as "a good way to raise a stock of moneys for the army" (No. 30). Assuredly, there is nothing new under the sun. When opposition was raised against such levies, compulsion was resorted to. The assessors, it is said, "this day made distraine in divers places in London, and tooke away the wares and goods of two woollen drapers in Paules Church-yard in London, and some others that refused to pay their assessements, and carried the same to Guild-hall to be sould to pay the same" (No. 33).

Prices apparently rose with the taxes. There is record, for example (No. 34), of "a complaint made to the Commons this day of the inhancing of the price of Coales, that since the restraint of the ships going to Newcastle, the price of Coales is raysed from 22 shillings a Chaldron, to 34 shillings." Consequently, the House agreed on "setting of a certaine price upon Coales." Still the opposition to the war increased, it seems, as the burdens pressed more heavily, and (No. 26) "many of the City malignants which hath hitherto stood as Newters" framed a petition for an immediate peace. The author complains that these people were ready to sacrifice "our Religion, our Lawes and liberties with all that we may prosperously call ours," in their desire "that all things shall be concluded in peace, & things reduced to the ancient custome when they lived

in prosperity." We recognize these pacifists from their descendants. "They came up and down the Citie to draw on others to be of their faction," and when the Lord Mayor ordered them to desist, they "insolently pressed the same." They even attempted to hold a public meeting in the Guild-Hall, into which they forced their way. But (No. 26) Captain Harvey rode up with his troopers, and "at the sound of his trumpet they were all scared away . . . and escaped apprehending at this time." The news-writer, however, declared that "many of the chiefe Ring-leaders are knowne whose names are certified to the L. Mayor, who will take a speedy course with them." In less than two weeks no less representative a citizen than Sir Paul Pindar was forced to confess his share in the agitation (No. 28).

Such discontents as these were eagerly seized by the royalists and possibly exaggerated. *Mercurius Aulicus* reported in January, 1643 that the army of Essex "was behind no lesse then five weekes pay," and that Parliament had emptied the treasury and "contrary to all rules of housewiferie, left not an egge in the nest for the henne to sit on." A little later it predicted mutiny in the city as a result of Parliament's arbitrary assessments. Several instances of such tyrannical exactions are given with a due amount of gloating (No. 8): "A poorer widow, having a charge of five children, and her estate not worth above 200 l. . . . being not able to make present payment, was plundered of her Jack, Spits, and leaden Cistern, which was all the distresse [in the legal sense] that could be found in the house." Again, it is said that on a certain Sunday, following the afternoon service, the soldiers, "accompanied with Daniel the preaching Cobler of Grub-street, whom the people call the prophet Daniel," went to the vestry of Saint Giles by Cripplegate and took the poor-

money from the box. Finally, this wholesale depredation is recorded: "Cloath to a good vallue had been taken from one Price a Draper; 10. chests of Sugar from one Grimes a Grocer; and 900 l. of other mens money from a Scrivener: besides which violent taxations and intolerable press-ures there were some every day employed in going from house to house to know what men would give of their owne accord towards the maintainance of the Warre."

In London, where this one royalist journal could not be sold safely on the streets, less notice was given to these confiscations. Possibly the spectacular phases of warfare suited better the public taste than these prosaic means of maintenance. After the King's approach on London in 1642, which Milton commemorated in his half-defiant sonnet, the streets were fortified against a similar danger in the future. In various sources accounts of these preparations are to be found. In May, 1643, *A Perfect Diurnall* announced, what the citizens must have known, that "the Intrenching of the Citty round goes on with wonderous great speed, many thousands going out dayly to the Worke" (No. 30). Each day, one infers, certain trades or guilds assumed the responsibility; for the news continues: "On Tuesday last there went about 5000 Felt-makers and Cappers, neare upon three Thousand Porters, besides other great Companies of men, women and children," with "divers other Companies of the Trayned Bands and new Militia that goe out dayly to the Workes with their Drumms and Coullors in the usual way." While these activities were at their height, William Lithgow, the adventurous Scot, was in the city, and found everywhere "new barrocaded posts . . . strongly girded with great chaines of yron."⁴ He saw the builders of the defences

⁴ *The Present Surveigh of London*. In Somers Tracts, vol. iv, pp. 534-545.

"marching to the fields and out works . . . with great alacritie, carrying on their shoulders yron mattocks and wooden shovels; with roaring drummes, flying colours, and girded swords." On one day the tailors went out, with forty-six colors and eight thousand "lusty men." On another day "a thousand oyster wives advanced from Billingsgate through Cheapside to Crabtree field, all alone, with drummes and flying collours." Fear and what is now called the psychology of the crowd gave impetus to these "daily musters" that Lithgow found "wondrous commendable"; but even he noticed, too, that the city was filled with "a general muttering that money is hard to come by."

Reports of the distant movements of the armies, of battles and sieges, were not so easily secured by the authors as these stories of London's unrest, and for that reason they must have been still more eagerly read. The general interest in the fate of Gloucester has already been shown. The stories printed of other such engagements disclose to the modern world, which is now learning so many new lessons, what military science was like in the seventeenth century.

In 1643 Prince Rupert attacked Chichester. "Whilst his Ordnance," we learn (*Diurnall*, No. 35), "was playing against one end of the Towne, he with a party of horse went to the other end, and made assault against it, shooting Grenadoes to set fire of the Barnes and Thatched houses that were at that end." Elsewhere, a fuller picture is given, in Cromwell's own words, of the Puritans' skirmish near Newark in 1643. His official report ran (*ibid.*, May 29, 1643): "God hath given us this evening a glorious victory over our enemies, they were as we are enformed one and twentie Colours of horse troops and three or foure of dragoones; it is late in the evening when we drew out,

they came and faced us within two miles of the town, so soon as we had the alarum we drew out our forces consisting of about twelve troops, whereof some of them so poore and broken that you shall seldome seen worse; with this handfull it pleased God to cast the scale, for after we had stood a little above musket shot the one body from the other, and the Dragooners having fired on both sides for the space of halfe an hour or more, they not advancing towards we agreed to charge them, and advancing the body after many shots on both sides, came with our Troopes a pretty round trot, they standing firme to receive us, and our men charging fiercely upon them, they were immediately routed and ran all away, and wee had the execution of them two or three miles." When this communication was penned, Cromwell must have been still hot from the combat, with no more care for the elegancies of style than Hotspur had. But for that reason the picture he gives of the open battles of that day, when the cavalry played the decisive part, is to be taken as typical of all.

The next year Rupert was at Newark, and another story was to be told. The city was besieged by a Puritan force, consisting of four thousand foot soldiers and two thousand horse. The King's nephew was ordered to ride to its relief. With his small detachment he was able to slip up unobserved within eight miles of the town. The next morning at nine the Prince himself led the charge, and the fight "grew sturdy," for the rebel army "disputed it toughly." Rupert himself, "having pierced deep into the Enemies, and being observed for his Valour, was dangerously at once assaulted by three sturdy Rebels, whereof one fell by his Highnesses own sword, a second being pistolled by M. Mortaine one of his own Gentlemen; the third now ready to lay hand on the Princes Coller had it almost chopt by Sir William Neale." In the end the

Puritans surrendered, and Rupert took as booty three thousand muskets, eleven brass cannon, one of them four yards in length, and a great quantity of pikes and muskets.

Besides these detailed accounts of pitched battles, the journals often give descriptions of sieges and storming parties. The small news-books could print only a brief account of these protracted operations, and the full story was often published afterward in a larger pamphlet. But the journals themselves were in appearance small books, and the only distinction between the journal and the pamphlet was that of continuity. The interesting little book, therefore, entitled *A True Relation of the Storming of Bristol*, was close kin to the journals under discussion, and the affair was one of major importance in the history of the war. As a revelation of the methods of the day, it is of significance here.

The story opens with Fairfax's call on Rupert for surrender. "Sir, For the Service of the Parliament I have brought their Army before the City of Bristol, and do Summon You in their Names, to Render it with all Forts belonging to the same into my hands, to their use." Immediately came the Prince's laconic answer: "I received yours by your Trumpeter: I desire to know, whether you will give me leave to send a Messenger to the King, to know his pleasure in it." To this request Fairfax sent his refusal, while "everything was prepared for a Storme; the Souldiers had their faggots on their backs, and leaped for joy they might go on." When Rupert's reply was delivered the next day, it proved to be unsatisfactory. As the first of seventeen conditions he stipulated that he, his troops, and the citizens be permitted to leave the city "with their Arms, flying Coulours, Drums beating, Trumpets sounding, Pistolls cock'd, Swords drawn, Matches lighted at both ends, Bullets in their mouths, and as much Powder

and Match as they can carry about them; with all their Bag and Baggage, Horses, Arms, and other Furniture, ten pieces of Cannon, Fifty barrels of Powder, Match and Bullet proportionable." A fire insurance policy could hardly be more comprehensive; but, although the other sixteen conditions were just as specific, Fairfax found them "doubtfully expressed" and suspected that Rupert was delaying until "his Counterscarfes and inner lines" were finished. So all negotiations were broken off.

The assault was carefully planned. "Collonel Weldon, with His Brigade, consisting of the four Taunton Regiments, . . . whose Posts were to make good Somersetshire side, was ordered to storme in three places, viz. two hundred men in the middle, two hundred on each side, (as forlorn hopes) to begin the storme, twenty Ladders to each place, two men to carry each Ladder, and to have five shillings a peece, two Serjeants that attend the service of the Ladder, to have 20 shillings a man; each Musquettier that follows the Ladder, to carry a faggot, a Serjeant to command them, and to have the same reward; 12 Files of men, with fire, armes, and pikes, to follow the Ladders to each place . . . to be commanded each by a Captaine, and Lieutenant; the Lieutenant to goe before with five Files, the Captaine to second him, with the other seven Files; the two hundred men that are appointed to second the storme, to furnish each partie of them, twenty Pyoneers, who are to march in their Reare. . . . Those Pyoneers are to throw down the Lyne, and make way for the Horse: the partie that is to make good the Line, to possesse the Guns, and turn them. A gentleman of the Ordnance, Gunners, and Matrosses, to enter with the parties, the Draw-bridge to be let down, two Regiments and a halfe of Horse, to storme in, (after the foot) if way be made."

On Tuesday night, September 9, all was thus put in

readiness. "The signes were to be, to give notice when the storme should begin, by kindling a fire of straw, and shooting off foure great Guns," and "the Word during the storme, was David: the word after the Lyne was entered, was The Lord of Hosts." In less than an hour after the advance was made, Prior's Fort was taken, by means of scaling ladders, and cannon were planted against the castle. Then Rupert surrendered, and the terms of capitulation were drawn up.

Although the Civil War in England was much less barbarous than the conflict in Ireland, charges of atrocity were freely brought against both Puritans and Royalists. Prince Rupert was apparently the most dreaded of the Cavaliers, and items like this are frequent in the news-books. "There came Letters from Northampton on Monday last, by which it was certainly informed that Prince Rupert with at least 2000 horse is in that County, and makes great spoyle there, having plundered many places thereabouts." ⁵ And again at Chichester, Prince Rupert was reported to have taken as booty "two thousand horse, with which he made his footmen Troopers, six hundred head of Cattell, and about sixty Cart-loade of plunder." His soldiers also "tooke pure Holland Sheets, and foulded them up under their Saddles, with which when they tooke up their lodgings they covered their horses withall instead of Horse-cloathes," and, having entered the town, "laid about them in that inhumaine manner it would grieve a Jew to heare the Relation." In another place, "much enraged at their losses, they "put all to the sword they met withall both men women and children, and in a barbarous manner murthered three Ministers our godly and religious men."

So persistent were these charges that the royal trooper

⁵ *A Continuation*, No. 30, Feb. 2, 1643.

was forced to publish his defence. His spirited "Declaration" began with an apology for his appearance as an author, his "known disposition being so contrary to this scribbling age." But the charges of barbarity forced him to declare: "I take that man to be no Souldier or Gentleman, that will strike (much lesse kill) a woman or a child." He defied his accusers to name the persons inhumanely treated by him, or the places where such atrocities had been committed. Finally, in retaliation, he reminded his readers of the sacking of the Earl of Northampton's house by the Roundheads, their destruction of churches, and the imprisonment of innocent persons. He pledged his word, too, that, if Charles were received in London peacefully, no citizen need fear plunder, and closed with the knightly words: "And so, whether peace or warre, the Lord prosper the worke of their hands who stand for God and King Charles."

The royalist press in general supported the charges that Rupert here brought against the Puritan soldiery. In May, 1643 appeared the first number of a paper amply entitled, *Mercurius Rusticus, or the Countries complaint of the Murthers, robberies, plundrings, and other outrages committed by the Rebells on his Majesties faithfull subjects*. It told in full of the sacking of Sir John Lucas's house, and the outrages on its inmates. Another paper, *Mercurius Aulicus*, found an even more barbarous story to tell. "The Rebels," it declared, "speed so ill at downright fighting, that now they practise a new way of Murther, for we are certainly advertised from Dennington Castle, that when the Rebells close besieged that place, they hired a Souldier to poyson their Well. . . . This Souldier having informed the Rebells, that the Well was most necessary for supportation of that Garrison, received his 20 shillings . . . and in the night time conveyed the

Poyson downe the Well. But next morning their Commander (tought it seems with the horror of the fact) sent a Drum with a Letter to Sir John Boys to give notice what was done. . . . After which time, he kept the Well in despite of the Rebels, and to make tryall whether or no the Well were truly poysoned, he tryed the experiment upon an Horse, which having drank of it, swelld and dyed within 24 houres."

One of the last pieces of important news that these journals had to communicate before their suppression, was the execution of the King in 1649. The *Moderate Intelligencer* followed most fully the proceedings against Charles. Like the rest, it was a paper about five by six and a half inches in size. In it the news from England was as a rule printed first; then letters from the Continent were given; and often at the very end the notice of a new book was added, such as "A Continuation of Mr. John-Amos² Comenius School-Endeavours, or a summary Delineation of Doctor Cyprian Kinner Silesian his Thoughts concerning Education, Way and Method of Teaching, comes forth tomorrow."

In the issue of *The Moderate Intelligencer* for the week ending January 4, 1649, appeared the item: "An Ordinance was this day brought in, which is in way of Commission, in which certaine persons about 100 in number, Lords, Commons, Citizens, & others are qualified, with power to try the Kings Majesty." This bill having been read a second time the next day was referred to the committee for the insertion of "the names of such as were to be Commissioners therein." The King himself felt little concern at this step, if the editor was truly informed, for the report continues: "The King is merry, discourses upon subjects purporting a life of many dayes here, doubts not but within six moneths to see peace in England." Yet

the plans for the trial went on, and "the Commons understanding how unanimously the Lords had gone against the Commission for tryall of the King, agreed to proceed themselves."

In the next issue of the paper the author discussed the three possible forms of government, whether by king, by Lords and Commons, or by the Commons alone, "which," he added "de facto it's now comming to." He explained that the word king, "as they that understood the Saxon Language say, signifies no more but cunning." In an unlimited monarchy, therefore, "a cunning or wise man is set over the people by their consent, because cunning, to see to their preservation." This line of argument seems to be leading to the conclusions soon to be propounded by Milton in *Tenure of Kings and Magistrates*. But here the author halted. Even were it necessary, he felt, for a king to be deposed, the divine rule is not to visit the sins of the fathers upon the children "unlesse they walke in the steps of their Fathers." Hence the line of succession should hardly be changed. In this article and the next the author appears plainly in the capacity of a modern editor to influence the judgment of his readers.

Soon, however, the editor resigned this function and dropped back into the rôle of news-writer to report the progress of events. Although the clergymen of Oxfordshire and others submitted petitions against a continuance of the prosecution, and although the Prince of Wales promised, if his father's life were spared, to see that Parliament's wishes were fulfilled, the proceedings went on. The House voted "that the King had exercised tyrannical government, was a tyrant, a Murtherer and Traitor" and agreed "to draw up the sentence of condemnation against him," ordering in advance that it should be counted "high treason for any person or persons to proclaim any King of England, without consent of Parliament."

On the 27th final sentence accordingly was pronounced. The King was brought before the Lord President and the sixty-seven commissioners present. They forbade his speaking "against the jurisdiction of the Court," but allowed him to plead in his own defence. So Charles began: "I must tell you, that this many a day all things have been taken away from mee, that I call dearer to me than my life, which is my Conscience and my Honor." His aim, he declared, in speaking was not to save his life, but to insure peace to the country. With that end only in view, he asked to "be heard in the Painted Chamber before the Lords and Commons." This request was denied, on the ground that Charles sought only delay, of which there had been too much already, and that "Judges are no more to delay then they are to deny Justice." The king still urged his plea, arguing that "a little delay of a day or two farther may give peace, whereas an hasty judgement may bring on that trouble and perpetuall inconvenience to the kingdome, that the childe that is unborn may repent." But the Lord President remained obdurate, arguing, as Milton did, that the oath at coronation was proof of a contract between king and people, and that Charles had violated the contract. The clerk then read the sentence, ending with the words: "For all which Treasons and Crimes this Court doth adjudge, That he the said Charles Stuart, as a Tyrant, Traytor, Murtherer, and a publike Enemy, shall be put to death, by the severing of his Head from his Body."

Since the measures against royalist papers were then very strict, the author had to give these facts without comment of his own. Some sympathy for the royal martyr seems to lie beneath the few facts that are given to conclude the story. The author reviewed the troubled reign of Charles, attributing the evil done chiefly to the Catholic

marriage. He mentioned next a few of the touching incidents from the last hours of the king,—the sending away of his dogs and his last words to his children. Then he told how Charles walked through the park to the scaffold and spoke there, behind the black-draped railing, to the small group of persons gathered to witness his end, before he finally gave a few of his personal belongings to his faithful friends and laid his head upon the block. It “was at one blow struck off by one in disguise, and taken up by another in disguise.” The author then concluded with this expressive comment: “Thus have you from first to last of this Tragoedie, such particulars as could be got from severall hands. Many have said, and possible true, wilfulnessse hath chiefly occasioned what hath befallen.”

The execution of King Charles brings one close to the end of this first flourishing period of English journalism. As early as 1647 the strictest measures were taken by the Puritans in control toward the suppression of the royalist papers in London. The old women who hawked them about the streets were whipped by the constables if they were caught. Then in 1651 Milton himself, the author of the grandest plea for the freedom of the press, became a sort of licensing editor of *Mercurius Politicus*. The Restoration led at once to the complete suppression of all papers but the one licensed by the new king’s servant and to the establishment of the *Gazette*. Nevertheless, the progress of English journalism during Puritan days had been rapid, though short. The editors, or authors, as they were usually called, had learned to gather the news and get it before the people; they had learned, too, that the press is a potent factor in the influencing of public opinion. The history of English journalism had begun.

ELBERT N. S. THOMPSON.

VII.—THE EDITIONS OF MILTON'S *HISTORY OF BRITAIN*¹

Separate editions of Milton's *History of Britain* appeared in 1670, 1677, 1695, and 1818.² It has been included in all the important collections of his prose works. In 1706, moreover, Dr. White Kennett, whose *Complete History of England* is a series of historical writings from the pens of various authors, chose Milton's work to do duty for the period preceding the Norman Conquest.³ Foot-notes were added, though of no remarkable value. The first of Kennett's three folio volumes was republished in 1719; in 1870 Milton's history, and along with it two of the other contributions to the first volume, were reprinted under one octavo cover; in 1878 appeared a stereotype reproduction of the volume of 1870.

¹ For helpful advice and suggestive material I acknowledge my indebtedness to Professor Albert S. Cook, of Yale University.

² Some volumes of the second edition appeared in 1678, with a new title-page bearing that date. See *Cat. Brit. Mus.* See also Masson, VI, p. 647, note 1, where mention is made of a copy of the first edition having a title-page with the date 1671. In the edition of 1818, *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates*, *The Ready and Easy Way*, *A Letter to a Friend on the Ruptures*, and *Notes on Griffith's Sermon* were appended to the *History*.

³ Kennett says in his Preface: "For the Times before *William* the First, tho' the Views of 'em have been left less distinct than the rest, and in some Places look like Scenes of Fairy-Land, yet so much as cou'd be trac'd and put into order, has been admirably done by Mr. *John Milton*, with whose Book this Collection begins. His great natural and acquir'd Parts, and his excelling in so many different kinds of Learning, besides his daring and uncommon Genius in Poetry, have made him generally look'd upon as one of the most extraordinary Persons that the last Age produc'd: And even the greatest Admirers of Antiquity have a particular Reason to rank him with most of the Ancients, whom he so nearly resembles."

The nature of the *Errata* appended to the text of 1670, the first edition, raises the presumption that Milton prepared the list himself.⁴ The corrections which it demanded were incorporated in the second edition, that of 1677; and that version was substantially followed in the edition of 1695. When Toland prepared a text of the *History of Britain* for his collection of 1698, he relied, apparently, upon emendations from two distinct sources. There were, first, the changes recommended by Milton's *Errata*, and already embodied in the second edition. There were, besides, several insertions—all of them, with one exception, belonging in the Second Book⁵—which are unmentioned in the *Errata*, and were seemingly unknown to the publishers of the editions of 1677 and 1695.⁶ How did Toland

⁴ Many of the corrections change the meaning of the text, suggesting the author's own hand. For example, "fabling in the deeds of Arms" (ed. 1670, p. 126) becomes "fabling in the deeds of Artur"; "married the Daughter of Penda" (p. 157) becomes "married the Sister of Penda"; "to Eadbert his Uncle" (p. 173) becomes "to Eadbert his Uncle's Son"; "Cuthred was dead two years before" (p. 176) becomes "Cuthred was dead two or three years before"; "sent Alfric Bishop of Yorke" (p. 276) becomes "sent Alfric Archbishop of Yorke"; and "death of Elfred his Brother" (p. 277) becomes "death of Elfred his half-Brother." The presumption is fortified by the summary language at the close of the *Errata*: "Besides other literal faults and wrong stops through the Book, which the Reader of himself may amend." Milton seems to be availing himself, that is to say, of an author's inherent right to leave all uncorrected matter to the reader's discrimination.

⁵ The single exception is found in the First Book. At the close of the passage, "insomuch that Aganippus a great King in Gaul (however he came by his Greek name)" (ed. 1670, p. 18), Toland adds "not found in any Register of French Kings."

⁶ In the following passages, Toland's insertions are set off within double bars (||).

He returns to Rome, from whence he had bin absent only six moneths, and in Britain but 16 daies; sending the news before him of his Victories, though in a small part of the Iland (ed. 1670, p. 54). || By which is manifestly refuted that which Eutropius and

Orosius write of his conquering at that time also the Orcades Ilands lying to the North of Scotland; and not conquer'd by the Romans (for aught found in any good Author) till above forty Years after, as shall appear. ||

The next we hear of Britain, is that when Trajan was Emperor, it revolted, and was subdued (ed. 1670, p. 78). || But Hadrian next entering on the Empire, they soon unsubdu'd themselves. ||

He rais'd a Wall with great stakes driv'n in deep, and fastn'd together, in manner of a strong mound, fourscore mile in length, to divide what was Roman from Barbarian (ed. 1670, p. 78): || as his manner was to do in other Frontiers of his Empire, where great Rivers divided not the Limits. ||

15 hundred of them went to Rome in name of the rest, and were so terrible to Commodus himself, as that to please them he put to death Perennis the Captain of his Guard (ed. 1670, p. 80). || for having in the British War remov'd thir Leaders, who were Senators, and in thir places put those of the Equestrian Order. ||

And Helvius Pertinax who succeeded Governour, found it a work so difficult to appease them, that once in a mutiny he was left for dead among many slain; and || though afterwards he severely punish'd the Tumulters, || was fain at length to seek a dismissal from his charge (ed. 1670, p. 81).

But more authentic Writers confirm us, that the Scots, whoever they be originally, came first into Ireland, and dwelt there, and nam'd it Scotia long before the North of Britain took that name (ed. 1670, p. 94). || Orosius who liv'd at this time writes, that Ireland was then inhabited by Scots. || [Toland then adds the following marginal reference: *Oros. L. 1. cap. 2.*]

Other variant readings in Toland's text appear below:

Ed. 1670.

- P. 54. To whom the Senate.
- P. 78. Under Adrian, Julius Severus, saith Dion, govern'd the Iland.
- P. 78. But he being call'd away.
- P. 80. He put to death Perennis.
- P. 83. Had wip't out of her conscience.
- P. 89. Certainly born of Helena, a mean Woman at Naisus in Dardania.

Ed. 1698.

- To Claudius the Senat.
- Julius Severus, saith Dion, then govern'd the Iland.
- He being call'd away.
- He deliver'd up to thir care Perennis.
- Had whip't out of her Conscience.
- Certainly born of a mean Woman, Helena, the Concubine of Constantius, at Naisus in Dardania.

discover this new matter? The answer is found through a line on the title-page to the *History*, in Toland's Volume I. Just before the legend "Amsterdam, MDCXCIV," one reads: "Publish'd from a Copy corrected by the Author himself." What was that copy? It is inconceivable that Milton made alterations in his manuscript which were disregarded when it went to press. The only reasonable explanation of Toland's little advertisement is that he became the possessor of a volume of the first edition, owned and handled by Milton, in which the author himself had made the mysterious insertions. Exactly when Milton did so is, of course, doubtful; but it was surely after the preparation of the *Errata*. That these changes are confined mainly to the Second Book indicates that within the last two or three years of his life he was refreshing his mind with the events of Roman history, and that he occasionally recalled a small gap in his own historical work which he could readily fill with material gleaned from his cursory reading. After ordering his reader to note an insertion in the margin of his printed copy, he would probably give the matter no further thought. Had he earnestly wished these memoranda—for as such he must have regarded them—to be perpetuated, it is likely that he would have left them in hands capable of executing his command. We know that shortly before his death he was in close association with Daniel Skinner, a young amanu-

P. 172. Neither they then we had better Authors.	Neither they nor we had better Authors.
P. 234. An Enemy to all Monks.	An Enemy to all Monks and Fryers.

*Ed. 1670.**Ed. 1677.**Ed. 1698.*P. 219. After this a
greater Army.After this a great
Army.After this a greater
Army.

ensis, on whom he conferred a literary executorship.⁷ The actual fact, no doubt, is that Milton entertained little hope that the *History* would ever appear again. A passage in the *Fasti Oxonienses* of Anthony Wood demonstrates that its reception was indifferently encouraging at best;⁸ and Milton himself surely had no clear reason to foresee that his posthumous reputation would justify the reprinting of this product of his left hand,⁹ this long-deferred work that had engaged only his spare hours, and had been left unfinished in the end.¹⁰ It is not singular, therefore, that the "copy corrected by the author himself" escaped the notice of those who published the editions of 1677 and 1695. It seems to have had a casual and undirected fate until it reached the custody of Toland.¹¹

Toland's version was followed in all the important editions which succeeded it, except that of Mitford, whose

⁷ See Masson, *Life of Milton*, vi, pp. 720, 791.

⁸ Referring to Milton's *History of Britain*, Wood says: "This history, when it first came abroad, had only the reputation of the putting of our old authors neatly together in a connex'd story, not abstaining from some lashes at the ignorance, or I know not what, of those times" (*Fasti Oxonienses*, pt. I, p. 485).

⁹ See *Reason of Church Government*, Bohn, II, p. 477: "Lastly, I should not choose this manner of writing [i.e., in prose], wherein knowing myself inferior to myself, led by the genial power of nature to another task, I have the use, as I may account, but of my left hand."

¹⁰ Though Milton had originally proposed to bring the *History* down to his own time, he concluded it at the Norman Conquest. The composition of the text progressed intermittently during a period commencing about 1645 (but no earlier than 1643, the date of the publication of Abraham Wheloc's parallel-text edition of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* and the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*), and ending about 1660 (see Firth, *Milton as an Historian*, *Proc. Brit. Acad. for 1907-8*, pp. 229-30). Cf. Masson, *Life of Milton*, vi, pp. 642-3. As to Wheloc's book, cf. Stern, *Milton und seine Zeit*, bk. IV, p. 134.

¹¹ A direct transfer from Milton to Toland is not to be considered. Toland was four years old when Milton died.

Works of Milton, published in 1851, contained a text of the *History* based upon the earlier version.¹² Whether Mitford realized that he was overlooking matter included in Toland's text is uncertain. But it is clear that editors of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries did not understand the precise nature of Toland's contribution. This fact is betrayed by the note which St. John, who prepared the valuable Bohn edition (1848-53), printed at the head of the *History*: "Published from a copy corrected by the author himself, 1670." St. John evidently saw the advertisement on Toland's title-page; but, instead of discovering that the corrections were made after the appearance of the first edition, he rushed to the inference that they had been established by Milton himself before his volume of 1670 went into print. In no other manner can one explain the insertion of the date 1670 at the end of the note. It seems to have been St. John's impression, in other words, that Toland merely copied the text of 1670, as emended by the *Errata*.

In the last two hundred years no significant alteration has been made in the text, except the inclusion of a digressive passage in Birch's edition of 1738. This change was adopted by subsequent editors.¹³

HARRY GLICKSMAN.

¹² The following appears on Mitford's title-page: "The Works of John Milton in Verse and Prose. Printed from the Original Editions." In his Advertisement Mitford says: "The present Edition of the Poetical and Prose Works of Milton has been carefully printed from the Author's copies."

¹³ This passage, manifestly an attack upon the Long Parliament and the Westminster Assembly (see Firth, pp. 252 ff.), did not appear among Milton's writings until 1738, when it was inserted near the beginning of the Third Book (see Bohn, v, pp. 236-41) in Birch's edition of the *Prose Works*. As a separate text it appeared for the first time in 1681, under the title *Mr. John Milton's Character*

of the Long Parliament and Assembly of Divines, In MDCXLI. The rest of the title-page reads: "Omitted in his other Works, and never before Printed, And very seasonable for these times. London: Printed for Henry Brome, at the Gun at the West-end of St. Paul's. 1681." The only other appearance of the *Character* apart from a Miltonic context was in Vol. v of *The Harleian Miscellany* (London, 1810).

St. John adds the following note to the digressive passage: "The following paragraphs, within brackets, have been omitted in all the former editions of our author's History of Britain, except that published in the collection of his works, 1738, 2 vols. folio, and the subsequent edition in quarto."

St. John is in error. The passage appeared, for example, in Symmons's edition of 1806, and in Fletcher's edition of 1833. Strange to say, the note set forth above appears almost *verbatim* in Symmons and Fletcher. The situation indicates that Miltonic editors of the first half of the nineteenth century were prone to transcribe from one another without adequate regard to the meaning of their copy.

VIII.—THE ELIZABETHAN DRAMATIC COMPANIES

Of the several agencies whose joint functioning made possible the Elizabethan theatre, the most neglected, the least understood, and yet in some respects the most important, is the dramatic company. The history and organization of the playhouses have long since attracted the attention of scholars, and the individual fortune of the playwrights and actors has been studied from many points of view. Research on the dramatic companies, on the other hand, has taken but one direction. Fleay, Maas, and Murray¹ have gone far to establish the chronology of the companies, but their real place in the history of the Elizabethan theatre has not been established. General works on the Elizabethan drama and theatre have failed to give them the attention they deserve, and the general student of the period hardly realizes that upon the companies rested a considerable share of the financial responsibility for the drama and the entire burden of producing it. Nor is it difficult to understand why the dramatic companies have been neglected. Writers upon our period have been content to treat of Elizabethan actors in a manner fitting those of all succeeding periods. The function of the modern actor is to act. The theatrical capitalist and the specialized skill of the producer relieve him of all the financial, and a substantial part of the artistic, responsibility which rested upon Elizabethan actors. If, however, the Elizabethan actor had greater responsibilities, he had also greater opportunities. The Elizabethan drama owes far more than has yet been realized to the fact that many of

¹ Fleay, *Stage, and Drama*; Maas, *Die Aessere Geschichte der Englischen Theatertruppen*; Murray, *English Dramatic Companies*.

the playwrights and all of the producing managers were great actors, who knew the audience intimately enough to gauge its capacities, who acknowledged no paymaster or employer but that audience, and whose instincts partook alike of the shrewdness of the successful business man and the daring of the artist. This producing and managerial function of the companies justifies a closer investigation than has yet been made of their place in the theatrical activities of the time and of the business organization which enabled them to hold it.

That the actor-sharers, the chief members of the dramatic companies—and *not* the proprietors of the playhouses, the "housekeepers"—were in charge of productions, is clear. The Globe and Blackfriars Sharepapers of 1635 show that the actor-sharers in the King's Men of that time—the successors of Shakspeare, Hemings, Con-dell, and the rest—counted among their expenses all payments for plays, costumes and properties, music, attendants, and the like.² The Langley-Pembroke Papers of 1597,³ and other documents still to be considered prove that the same arrangement prevailed at the Swan and the Red Bull, and that the actor-sharers made not only the payments but also the purchases and appointments. If further proof be desired, one has only to turn to Henslowe's *Diary* and his miscellaneous papers.

Even Greg's invaluable work on the *Diary* has not yet eradicated certain totally incorrect views as to Henslowe's managerial activities; so that it will be worth while to consider at this point the producing responsibilities of his companies at the Rose, the Fortune, and the Hope. The notion has long been prevalent among casual readers of the

² Halliwell-Phillipps, *Outlines*, 7th ed., I, p. 313.

³ Wallace, *Englische Studien*, XLIII, p. 342.

Diary that because Henslowe records a large number of payments for plays, costumes, and properties, he must have been the general manager in charge of purchases and productions. The fact of the matter, of course, is quite otherwise. Until they became well established, the dramatic companies often found it a difficult task to finance their end of the enterprise, since large sums were required to pay for the costuming of new plays, and to provide money for playwrights' fees, for the charges of the Master of the Revels, and for wages to the "hirelings" or junior actors in their employ.⁴ The companies at Henslowe's theatres during their early days were frequently obliged to borrow from their chief housekeeper, Henslowe himself, and as security they often made over to him their share of the gallery receipts.⁵ Upon such security Henslowe, in contracting for the appearance of the Lady Elizabeth's Men at the Hope in 1613, agreed "to disburse . . . all such . . . somes of monny as fflower or ffive sharers of the said Company . . . shall thinck fittinge for the furnishinge of the . . . Company with playinge apparrell."⁶ Only such payments as the companies could not meet from their current funds appear among the loans entered in the *Diary*, and it is clear that Henslowe specifies the nature of the loans only for purposes of record, not because he managed the companies' outlays or productions. Numerous letters written to Henslowe by sharers in his companies prove beyond a doubt that they selected the plays and produced them.⁷

⁴ I have discussed fully the theatrical budget of Shakspeare's times in Chapter VI of my MS. dissertation, *Finance and Business Management of the Elizabethan Theatre*, Harvard University, 1918.

⁵ See below, note 11.

⁶ *Henslowe Papers*, ed. Greg, pp. 23-24.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 56, Samuel Rowley to Henslowe, in 1601: "Mr. hinchloe I haue harde fyue shetes of a playe of the Conqueste of the Indes &

In view of these facts we may dismiss the notion that Henslowe was the guilty progenitor of the so-called "Theatre Trust" of our day, or that, indeed, he was "a whole theatre trust in himself."⁸ Freedom of production is the

I dow not doute but It wyll be a verye good playe tharefore I praye ye delyuer them fortye shyllinges. . . ."

Ibid., p. 84, Field to Henslowe, 1613: "Mr. Dawborne and I have spent a great deale of time in conference about this plott, wch. will make as beneficiall a play as hath Come these seauen yeares." He then proceeds to ask for a loan. See also, *ibid.*, p. 49. The plays as well as the apparel remained company property, though Henslowe from time to time seized this property to secure unpaid debts (*ibid.*, p. 49). Greg (*Hens. Diar.*, II, pp. 120-1) has shown conclusively that Henslowe did not act as a play-broker or agent, but in his loans simply acted, according to Rendle's phrase, as "Banker of the Bankside."

⁸ In *New Shakespeareana*, I, p. 36, appears an unsigned article which charges that "in Shakspeare's day one Philip Henslowe devised the same sort of thing" as that more recently perpetrated by "the handful of 'commercial gents'" who pooled their interests and, "suggesting that the public be . . ." prevented Mrs. Fiske from finding suitable bookings for her productions outside of New York. Then follows a series of curious indictments. The sins with which Henslowe is charged might at worst be considered as ill deeds done by the companies and recorded by him only because he loaned them money to carry out their fell purposes. As a matter of fact, however, they have to do with transactions in no sense reprehensible even from the point of view of an opponent of monopolies, Elizabethan or modern. Among the charges against Henslowe are the following:

1. "He bribed a printer in 1599 not to print Dekker's *Patient Grissell*," that is to say, the company, in self-protection took steps to prevent its property from becoming public and valueless.

2. "He employed a hack . . . to rewrite and re-arrange so as to disguise other people's plays,"—and, more particularly, "to write plays competing with those already produced or about to be produced by Shakspeare's Company." In other words, Henslowe's companies employed hack playwrights (such as Ben Jonson) to rewrite earlier plays—exactly as the Chamberlain's Men employed Shakspeare in the earlier stages of his career.

3. "By loans and advances . . . he managed to get poor Ben Jonson into his power, and thereafter as long as Shakspeare lived kept Ben at Shakspeare's heels endeavoring to duplicate Shakspeare's

first element of a free theatre, and this the Elizabethan theatre enjoyed in every sense of the word. Neither Henslowe nor any other theatrical capitalist had any authority in the selection or production of plays. Company control of productions in the first place, and competition among the companies in the second,⁹ prevented the development of theatrical monopoly in our period—though we shall have occasion to note later that toward its close the ever increasing royal control of the companies foreshadowed the theatrical monopoly which came in with the Restoration. We shall see further that, not only in their control of productions, but also in their relations to the court and Revels Office, the dramatic companies, and

attractions. . . . Philip Henslowe was the thorn in Shakspeare's flesh. . . ." All of which is so delightfully false from start to finish (and so long after Gifford!) as to require no further comment. It is worth noting, however, if only for the reason that other and more scholarly writers than the one just quoted continue to speak of Elizabethan "theatre trusts" in a manner that entirely confuses the issue. This in spite of the fact that Mr. Greg's masterly examination of Henslowe's activities should have undeceived them in this respect. (Of., for example, Sullivan's *Court Masques of James I*, New York, 1913, p. 182. Here Shakspeare is spoken of as "a member of one of the biggest theatre trusts in London.") The one real charge to be brought against Henslowe is that he interfered with the prerogatives of his companies at times by attaching actors to him personally (see *Hensl. Papers*, p. 124) and by threatening to "break" a company by dismissing such personal employees of his. The wages of these employees, however, were also paid by the companies. Moreover, the indications are that these threats of Henslowe's came rarely and then only in self-defense, since certain actors and at times entire companies made every effort to "break" their housekeepers by leaving them suddenly. See Wallace, *Eng. Studien*, XLIII, p. 342; *Hensl. Diary*, I, p. 179; Cunningham, *Shaks. Soc. Papers*, IV, pp. 95-100; Murray, *op. cit.*, I, p. 53; *Hensl. Papers*, p. 49.

⁹ For a full discussion of company competition compare chapter II of my dissertation, and my article on "The Travelling Players in Shakspeare's England," *Modern Philology*, January, 1920. See also note 91, below.

not the housekeepers, were the dominant factor in theatrical affairs. The function of the housekeepers was simply and only to furnish funds for the building and upkeep of the playhouses.¹⁰ Thus, we shall see, further, that the many questions connected with the licensing of plays by the Master of the Revels were in charge of the business managers of the dramatic companies, the housekeepers being required only to obtain the requisite licenses for their playhouses. In this connection I should like to recall another point which I have already discussed fully elsewhere. The actor-sharers were not mere employees of the housekeepers—they did not, as has been generally believed, draw fixed salaries for their work. The Elizabethan theatre was a very thorough-going share-holding institution. The housekeepers drew half the gallery receipts, and the actor-sharers divided among themselves—after meeting current expenses—the other half of the gallery receipts plus the general admission fees, “the commings in at the door.”¹¹ The success of the theatres and their own prosperity thus depended entirely upon their ability to attract a “full audience.”¹²

How the King's Men financed their production in the early days of Shakspeare's membership in the company we can only conjecture. It is likely, however, that each man, upon being admitted as actor-sharer, had to invest a certain amount of money. This, at any rate, was the arrangement in other companies. Thus we read in the *Diary* that Francis Henslowe on May 3, 1593 borrowed 15 li. from

¹⁰ See the 1635 Globe and Blackfriars Sharepapers, the Henslowe-Cholmley contract (*Hensl. Papers*, pp. 2-4) and, for general discussion, the references given in the preceding note.

¹¹ Halliwell-Phillipps, *op. cit.*, I, p. 314. See my article on “Shakspeare's Income,” *Studies in Philology*, xv, pp. 83 ff.

¹² See the dedication of Dekker's *If It Be Not Good*.

his uncle "for his share to the Quenes players when they broke & went into the contrey to playe," and again, on June 1, 1595, 9 li. "for his hallfe share wth. the company wch. he dothe play with."¹³ Undoubtedly the investment required was larger in the more important companies. It must be remembered, moreover, that the Strange-Chamberlain-King's Men had long been a flourishing organization, and they probably did not have to work with borrowed capital in Shakspeare's day to any such extent as the companies at Henslowe's theatres. As regards the latter, however, it should be said that they promptly ceased to borrow as soon as they began to be able to look out for themselves. Thus the Admiral's Men, after they were taken under the royal patronage on the accession of James I, disappear from Henslowe's books, and Greg is doubtless right in assuming that they successfully financed themselves thereafter.¹⁴

Like Henslowe's companies, Pembroke's Men at the Swan before 1597 and Queen Henrietta's Men at the Salisbury Court before 1637,¹⁵ were able to borrow a part of their working capital from their chief housekeepers. Queen Anne's Men at the Red Bull in 1615 raised money by still another method. At that time they owed the widow of Thomas Greene, lately one of their chief actors, the sum of 111 li. Instead of paying it, they prevailed upon her second husband, one Baskerville, to advance them a further sum of 57 li. 10 s. In payment of their total debt they granted the Baskervilles an annuity of 1 s. 8 d. per day out of their takings. Somewhat later, for a further consideration of 110 li. paid to the company by the Bas-

¹³ See note 9, and *Hensl. Diary*, I, pp. 4-6.

¹⁴ *Loc. cit.*, II, p. 113.

¹⁵ See note 3, and *Shaksp. Soc. Papers*, IV, p. 98.

kervilles, the annuity was increased to 3 s. 8 d. daily.¹⁶ All the companies who played at court, moreover, were able to count upon a certain amount of "cort-mony" each year to help them meet their obligations, and at times they were able to borrow upon the security of this potential income.¹⁷

With this preliminary sketch of the dramatic companies' financial methods and of their general function in the theatrical scheme of things, we may turn to their internal organization and administration. A lawsuit brought against Queen Anne's Men at the Red Bull in 1619 by one John Smith, draper, whose bill of 46 li. 5 s. the company had refused to pay, throws an interesting light upon the arrangements of that company.¹⁸ In the course of its plea the company seeks to escape responsibility by pointing out that its business manager, Christopher Beeston, was in sole charge of purchases for the company, and that a part of the company's funds had regularly been turned over to him to meet the bills. "For the better ordering and setting forth" of its plays, the company states, it "required Divers officers *and that everyone of the said Actors should take upon them some place & charge*, and for that the prouision of the furniture & apparell was a place of greate chardge & trust and must of necessitie fall upon a thriueing man & one that was of abilitie & meanes . . . " it was given to Beeston, for whose expenditure they reserved out of their daily receipts "a certen some of money as a comon stock."¹⁹ In this particular case the com-

¹⁶ Fleay, *Stage*, pp. 273 ff.

¹⁷ Thus Henslowe on May 4, 1601, received from the Admiral's Men "in pt. of a more some" 28 li. 10 s. "cort mony for playnge ther at cryssmas" (*H. D.*, I, p. 40).

¹⁸ Wallace, "Three Lond. Theatres," *Neb. Univ. Stud.*, 1909, pp. 35 ff.

¹⁹ One of the witnesses testifies that "one-half of the profit that

pany seems to have been unfortunate in the choice of its business manager; for it appears that Beeston defrauded his colleagues of considerable sums of money, though he vehemently denies the charge.²⁰ Whatever the merits of the case may have been, it is worth while to dwell for a moment upon the implications of the company's statement concerning the distribution of responsibility among the actor-sharers. Each sharer, they say, took upon himself "some place & charge," and they chose the most substantial man among them for the responsible office of business manager. There is every reason to believe that this democratic method of managing things was general among the companies.

Shakspeare's company was particularly fortunate in the man it chose to guide its finances. John Hemings, its business manager and one of its leading actors—and not Cuthbert Burbage, the financial man of the Burbage family—was the outstanding figure in the management of the Burbage theatres during all the years Shakspeare was connected with them as actor and playwright, and for many

came of the galleries" was set aside for this purpose, "but what it might amount to this deponent cannot judge."

²⁰ The company complains of Beeston's "unconscionable and extreame Dealeinges," and charges that he "hath with the said moneyes much enritchted himself . . . and . . . did at one time yeald . . . a false accompte of fower hundred poundes." Later, they say, he "separated & Devided himself" from them, and carried off all their "furniture & apparel" (Wallace, p. 38). Their charges are supported by strong evidence. The company asked the court to hold Beeston responsible for Smith's bill. The decision is not extant but it seems certain that Beeston was at fault. He was involved also in the Baskerville suit, and he appears in *Henslowe's Diary* as a seller of stage apparel—under suspicious circumstances (*H. D.*, I, p. 180). His questionable methods apparently did not interfere with his success as an actor and business manager. He became manager of "the King and Queen's Young Company" at the Cockpit in 1637. See below, note 82.

years thereafter.²¹ Hemings's loyal services to his comrades were one of the great assets of a great company. He never failed them, though the demands upon him were many. He was called upon to defend an unending succession of lawsuits brought against the company and its housekeepers, and he did it successfully. He went out of his way to safeguard the property of Mrs. Robinson, the widow of one of his colleagues, against the wild extravagance of the spendthrift whom she had married, and he had her decently buried after her second husband had deserted her and left her to die a pauper's death.²² He adroitly managed to win the good graces of two successive Masters of the Revels—Sir George Buc and Sir Henry Herbert—the latter a man by no means easy to control,²³—and whether the occasion called for “a courtesie . . . about their Blackfriars house,”²⁴ an order “to forbid the playing of Shakspeare's plays to the Red Bull company,”²⁵ or permission to revive “an olde play called Winters Tale. . . . on Mr. Hemings his worde that there was nothing prophane added or reformed thogh the allowed booke was missinge,” Sir Henry was equally ready to accept without question Hemings's tactful suggestions—and his money.²⁶ For many years Hemings drew large sums of money for his company in payment for its services at court,²⁷ and it was Hemings again who busied himself

²¹ See Malone, *Shakspeare*, III, ed. Boswell, pp. 474 ff.

²² See Wallace, “Witter vs. Hemings and Condell,” *Neb. Univ. Stud.*, 1910.

²³ In 1618 Hemings paid to Sir George Buc, then Master of the Revels, “in the name of the four companys for a lenten dispensation in the holydaies, 44 s.” (Malone, III, p. 224).

²⁴ This and the following entry from Sir Henry Herbert's Office Book appear in Malone, III, pp. 229 ff.

²⁵ In 1627.

²⁶ See Malone, III, pp. 229, 233 ff.

²⁷ Cunningham, *Revels Accounts*, pp. xxxix ff. These matters are

more nobly still in their behalf by serving as executor for the estates of several of his comrades who left the stage before him,²⁸ and as literary executor for the greatest of them. It should be added that Henry Condell appears to have acted as assistant to Hemings not only in the preparation of the First Folio, but in many other of his tasks.²⁹ There is no evidence to show that the business management of Shakspeare's company differed in general method from that of its contemporaries;³⁰ such superiority as it enjoyed in this respect, it doubtless owed very largely to John Hemings's unfailing loyalty, his sterling honesty, and his shrewd good sense.³¹

Of the business managers of the remaining companies less is known, but such facts as we have indicate that they filled their places according to their lights under circum-

discussed in my paper on "The Players at Court, 1564-1642," to be published very shortly in *The Journal of Engl. and Germ. Phil.* Hemings was active also in disposing of his company's surplus apparel and properties (see note 42).

²⁸ Malone, III, pp. 202, 472.

²⁹ He repeatedly appears as co-defendant with Hemings in suits against the company (see note 22) and on other occasions. See notes 50 and 53, below.

³⁰ For a contrary opinion see Professor Thorndike's *Shakespeare's Theater*, pp. 309, 258, and compare my note on the evidence against his view, *Studies in Philology*, xv, p. 86, note 14.

³¹ The manifold demands upon Hemings as actor and business manager apparently did not exhaust all his time and interest. In his will he describes himself as "John Heminge, citizen and grocer of London," but, as Malone says (*op. cit.*, III, p. 191) "how he obtained his freedom of the grocers' company does not appear." Witter, who had good reason to dislike Hemings and Condell, describes them as men "of great lyveinge, wealth, and power" (see note 22). The estimate of Hemings given above takes into account the charges made against him by his daughter in the Osteler suit. The papers found by Professor Wallace (see *London Times*, October 2 and 4, 1909) unfortunately state only one side of that case, and the unsupported charges of Mrs. Osteler—a young woman of somewhat questionable character—deserve no particular weight.

stances resembling those which attended the service of Beeston and Hemings. The celebrated actor and playwright Nathan Field negotiated for the Lady Elizabeth's Men in 1613 the contract with Henslowe to which I have referred above,³² and he appears to have assumed the general business management of that company. His letters to Henslowe show him to have been particularly active in the selection and staging of plays. The contract of the Lady Elizabeth's Men indicates that four sharers of the company were authorized to purchase supplies—a division of authority which may after all mean only that the Lady Elizabeth's Men, like other companies who had played under Henslowe before 1613, did not wish to impose upon one man the sole burden of borrowing. Field, like Beeston and Hemings, appears as the payee in treasury warrants for court performances by his company.³³ Robert Shaw and Edward Juby, who also appear frequently in the treasury books and in *Henslowe's Diary*, probably acted as business managers for the Admiral's Men and the Palsgrave's Company, respectively.³⁴

Whether it was one of the many duties of the business manager, or the special "place & charge" of some other actor-sharer, to maintain company discipline, is an open question. It is clear, at any rate, that the Elizabethan dramatic companies, like those of other times, had certain rules of order to which their members were required to subscribe. Robert Dawes, who became a sharer in the Lady Elizabeth's Men in 1614, agreed to abide by an interesting set of regulations. His contract,³⁵ which bound

³² See note 6.

³³ Cunningham, p. xlv.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. xxxiii, and Chambers, *Modn. Lang. Review*, Jan., 1909, p. 166.

³⁵ For which see *Hens. Papers*, pp. 123-125.

him for three years and admitted him to a whole share in the company, provides a graduated scale of penalties for offenses against the rules. Thus, he is to forfeit 1 s. for lateness at any rehearsal duly announced, and double that amount for absence. For lateness at the play, unless excused by six members of the company, he agrees to forfeit 3 s. Severer offenses call for heavier fines. Thus, Dawes agrees to pay 10 s. if "by judgment of fflower of the said company" he should be found intoxicated at play-time, and 20 s. for failure to appear at the play, "having no lycense or just excuse of sickness."³⁶ Finally, the heavy forfeit of 40 li. is to be exacted if he should be adjudged guilty of appropriating company apparel or other property, or of conniving at another man's doing so. It should be noted that *Henslowe's Diary* records a number of somewhat questionable transactions covering the sale of stage apparel.³⁷ This fact, together with the

³⁶ In connection with the 10 s. fine see T. Gainsford's *Rich Cabinet Furnished With a Variety of Excellent Descriptions*: "Drunkenness puts a Carpenter by his rule, a Fencer from his ward, and a Player out of his part" (Hazlitt, *Drama and Stage*, p. 11).

³⁷ Some of the actor-sharers in Henslowe's companies appear to have pawned company apparel for their personal benefit on more than one occasion. On October 4, 1598, Henslowe loaned 3 li. to Shaw, Jones, and Downton of the Admiral's Men, to enable them to fetch "home the Rich clocke [cloak] from pane," the charge being against them personally and not against the company: "weh. the stocke is not to paye but these meane." (*H. D.*, I, p. 62). An entry of November 2, 1597, indicates that Downton had been engaged at that time in a similar transaction involving the loan of 12 li. 10 s. to redeem two cloaks (*ibid.*, I, p. 69). In August and October, 1602, Christopher Beeston, then late of Shakspeare's Company, which he had left with Kemp to join the Admiral's Men (Murray, *op. cit.*, I, p. 53) sold several items of stage apparel to his new companions. His sharp practice on other occasions (see note 20, above) throws some doubt upon the legitimacy of these transactions. Further sales of costumes and properties by actor-sharers are noted in the *Diary* (I, pp. 164, 185) and the *Henslowe Papers*, p. 126. In this connec-

extremely high cost of such apparel, would seem to furnish ample justification for a provision to safeguard company property.

The Dawes contract, unfortunately, is the only extant record of its kind, but we may reasonably infer that its provisions were typical.³⁸ One of its clauses deserves further attention. The Dawes contract bound the actor to stay with the company for three years, which was the usual term also of the "hirelings." Even actors of considerable prominence frequently shifted from company to company upon short notice,³⁹ and the problem of maintaining the necessary permanence of organization must have been a difficult one for the companies. By making it possible for leading actor-sharers to acquire proprietary shares as well,⁴⁰ the housekeepers sought to forestall the offers of competing houses or companies. Actor-sharers—such as Shakspeare, Burbage, Hemings, Alleyn, and others who were also housekeepers—had of course substantial

tion, cf. note 48, below. The disciplinary provisions of this contract are mentioned by Percy Simpson, in *Shakespeare's England*, II, p. 264.

³⁸ It should be noted that the two parties to this contract were Dawes and Henslowe, instead of Dawes and the Lady Elizabeth's Men directly. Henslowe at this time was undoubtedly looking about for ways and means to attach the Lady Elizabeth's Men firmly to his new house, the Hope. The company, on the other hand, was new, financially dependent upon Henslowe, and in no position to protest. Dawes, moreover, was an actor of reputation, and they were probably glad to get him, even though Henslowe was usurping their functions in making the contract in his own name. From the fact that the contract in every case makes the actor-sharers the sole judge of any infraction of the rules, we may conclude that it embodies a set of rules such as had come to Henslowe's knowledge through his association with the earlier companies at the Rose, Bear Garden, and Fortune.

³⁹ Thus Kemp left Shakspeare's company for Worcester's Men in 1599. See Murray, *op. cit.*, I, p. 53; *H. D.*, I, p. 179.

⁴⁰ See *Studies in Philology*, xv, p. 86.

reasons for remaining loyal to their companies; but the great majority of actor-sharers, after all, were not house-keepers. In self-defense the companies were compelled to devise various methods to keep their organizations intact. That a simple contractual obligation, such as that assumed by Dawes, did not always serve the purpose, is well demonstrated by the depositions in a triangular lawsuit contested in 1612, in which John Hemings, Joseph Taylor (who later became his successor in the business management of the King's Men), and the actor-sharers of the Duke of York's Company, were the principals. In 1611 Taylor, together with four of the Duke's Men,⁴¹ then his fellow-sharers, bought from the business manager of the King's Men certain stage apparel worth 11 li., and the five men jointly signed a bond for 20 li. to assure payment for the purchase within a year's time. In the course of the year Taylor left the Duke's Men and the latter refused to pay the bill. Hemings thereupon sued Taylor for the amount of the bond. Taylor promptly asked the court for relief on the ground that the apparel was left with his former colleagues, that they had paid Hemings, and, with his connivance, "having conceived some undeserved displeasure against your highnes Subject for leavvinge their said company . . . do by combynacon & confederacye & subtill & indirect practices endeavor to charge your highnes said Subiet with the whole penalty & forfeiture." Hemings vigorously denies any such dealings with Taylor's quondam associates and states that he sued Taylor because he regarded him as "best able to paye and discharge" the debt. The Duke of York's Men, finally, do not deny that the property was left with them. They point out, however, that on March 15, 1609 Taylor agreed

⁴¹ Robert Dawes was one of them.

legally and formally "duringe the terme of three yeares [to] continue together in equal ffellowshippe" with the other four men who stood at the head of the company. No one was to leave the company before the expiration of the term "without the consent of the whole company then lyvinge . . . in wrytinge." If he did so, the rest of the company was to have undisputed possession of the company's property. "And for the performance of the covenantes" the men were severally "bound in the some of two hundreth poundes." Taylor, according to his late colleagues, left "without the consent . . . of any of them, whereby the said obligacon ys . . . by him forfeited."⁴² The principle involved in this suit was much more important than the amount of money actually at stake, though by leaving the Duke's company Taylor probably sacrificed much more than the 20 li. he may have had to pay Hemings. The company probably did not try to hold him to his 200 li. bond, but it appears that his defection automatically cancelled his share in the company's stock of apparel and plays, and this may have represented a substantial amount.

Other evidence shows that this phase of the agreement between the Duke of York's Men was a device commonly employed by other companies to act as a deterrent to actor-sharers who might otherwise have been inclined to seek too many changes of scene.

About 1613, Charles Massye, for many years an actor-sharer in the Admiral's Men, wrote to Edward Alleyn to ask for a loan. In the course of his letter he refers to the "composicions betwene oure compenye that if anyone give over *wth. consent of his fellowes* he is to receve three

⁴² See C. W. Wallace, *Globe Theatre Apparel*, privately printed, London, 1909, and Mrs. Stopes, *Shakesp. Jahrbuch*, XLVI, p. 94.

score and ten povnds (antony Jefes hath had so much) if any dye his widow or frends whom he appoynts it tow reseve fyfte povnds (mrs. pavie and mrs. towne hath had the lyke)."⁴³ Obviously the retiring allowances mentioned in this document represent the value of the actor-sharer's part in the stock of Massye's company in 1613. It will be worth our while to postpone for a moment the few remaining points to be made in connection with the devices for stabilizing company organization, in order to see how these figures compare with what may be termed the selling or retiring value of stock-shares in other companies.⁴⁴ As might be expected, those of travelling companies were worth less than those of the London organizations. Thus Richard Jones, then a member of Worcester's Men,⁴⁵ sold to Edward Alleyn in 1589 his share of "playing apparalles, playebookes, Instrumentes, and all other commodities whatsoever," for the sum of 37 li. 10 s.⁴⁶ On the other hand, it appears that stock-shares in Queen Anne's Men at the Red Bull before 1623 were worth somewhat more than those in Massye's company; for the widow of Thomas Greene, in suing for the amount due her from the stock of the Queen's Men, states that the widow of George Pulham, a half-sharer in the company, had received 40 li.⁴⁷ Even so, stock-shares in Massye's company by 1613 had considerably risen in value since 1602, when Robert Shaw and Richard Jones, both full sharers, retired from the Admiral's Men with an allowance of 50 li. for the two men.⁴⁸ Another bit of evidence would seem to indicate

⁴³ See *Hens. Papers*, p. 64.

⁴⁴ Not to be confused with the annual income of company shares, which will be discussed below.

⁴⁵ A provincial company until 1602 (Murray, I, p. 52).

⁴⁶ Warner, *Cat. MSS. Dulwich Coll.*, p. 2; Murray, II, p. 121.

⁴⁷ See the Greenstreet Papers, in Fleay, *Stage*, p. 280.

⁴⁸ *H. D.*, I, p. 82, II, p. 309. It is possible that Shaw and Jones got

that Edward Alleyn in 1605 considered his share in the stock of this company as worth 100 li.—a somewhat optimistic estimate.⁴⁹

Nothing has hitherto been written concerning the value of stock-shares in Shakspeare's company, but there is good reason to believe that on his retirement from the company about 1614 Shakspeare collected for his whole share in the stock the sum of 100 li. This statement I base upon a clause in the will of Alexander Cook, a colleague of Shakspeare and a one-time apprentice of Hemings. The will is dated January 3, 1613 and it calls upon "my master Hemings, Mr. Cundell & Mr. Francis Caper" to see "*the some of Fiftye pounds . . . which is in the hands of my fellowes as my share of the stock . . . safelye put into Grocers Hall for the use and bringinge up of my poor Orphants.*"⁵⁰ Cook in all probability held only a half

a part of their allowance in goods, for Shaw sold to Worcester's Men a few months later four cloaks of the value of 16 li. (*H. D.*, I, p. 164. See above, note 37). In May and July, 1598, Martin Slater, who had left the Admiral's Men in the preceding year, collected 8 li. from the company, probably in settlement of a debt representing part of the value of his share in the stock, for which he had threatened to sue (*H. D.*, I, pp. 54, 73, 28; II, p. 311).

"In view of Massye's figures in 1613. In a list of his resources noted on the back of a letter sent to him by the man from whom he purchased Dulwich Manor, Alleyn noted among others "my share of apparel," 100 li. (Warner, *op. cit.*, p. xxiii, supplies the date). I believe this must refer to Alleyn's share in the stock of the Admiral's Men, though Murray thinks that Alleyn's connection with the company ceased in 1604, when he and Juby were paid for a court performance of the company (see Murray, II, pp. 136-7). The fact that no further appearance of Alleyn's is actually recorded does not necessarily mean that he dropped out of the company in 1604, and I know of no other organization in which Alleyn could have had a "share of apparel" in 1605.

"For the will, see Malone, III, p. 482. Malone and Chalmers have nothing to say concerning this item.

share in the company; ⁵¹ Shakspeare, a full sharer, would therefore have been entitled to 100 li. on his retirement from the company.⁵²

The document last quoted suggests that contractual obligations and forfeiture penalties after all were not the only bonds between the players. Shakspeare's company in particular was able to maintain a strong and permanent organization because its members were bound to one another by the ties of devoted personal friendship. Many of them in their wills left memorial rings or other gifts to their colleagues; their business manager, as we have seen, served as trustee for the estate of more than one of his departed comrades; and many of the other members of the company rendered similar offices of friendship to their fellows, or in turn requested them in their wills.⁵³

⁵¹ The phrase "my master Hemings," taken together with similar expressions elsewhere (cf. notes 56-62, below) indicates that Cook had been Hemings's acting apprentice, and he must have been a young man at the time of his death. He would hardly have been admitted to a full share so early in his career (cf. note 64, below). Chalmers states that Cook "represented the lighter females of Shakespeare's dramas" (Malone, III, p. 481). Augustine Phillipps in his will left 5 li. each to his executors, Hemings, Richard Burbage, and Thomas Slye; "thirty shillings in gold" to his "fellowes," Shakspeare, Condell, and Beeston; and twenty shillings each to Cook, Tooley, and Cowley (Malone, III, p. 472).

⁵² The evidence here collected indicates that Greene in his *Groatsworth of Wit* (1596) exaggerated the value of company stock. Greene gives an account of his meeting with a player who had the appearance of "a gentleman of great living" and the bearing of "a substantial man." In the course of the ensuing conversation between the two, the player remarks that his "very share in playing apparel would not be sold for two hundred pounds" (Grosart's *Greene*, XII, p. 131). Greene's poverty doubtless led him to exaggerate the prosperity of the actors. Lee (*Life*, p. 298) accepts the statement at its face value. According to the statement of the Lady Elizabeth's Men in 1615 their total stock was sold that year for only 400 li. (*Hens. Papers*, p. 89).

⁵³ Condell was executor of Underwood's will, and in turn made

Similar friendships must have existed among the members of other companies, though the documentary evidence thereof be lacking. We do know at least that the Admiral's Men, for example, did not deny themselves the opportunity to cultivate each other's acquaintance under pleasant circumstances. If to know jointly the grateful Elysium of good venison and the cups that cheer be an aid to friendship, the Admiral's Men must have become firm friends in the course of time. On at least eight different occasions between 1594 and 1602, when the current funds of the company were too low to be drawn upon, they did not disdain to borrow from Henslowe the necessary wherewithal to purchase "good cheare" at the Mermaid or the Sun in New Fish Street when they were "at owre agreement" or "at the Readyng" of a new play, or the celebration of a successful first performance.⁵⁴ With

Hemings his trustee. Augustine Phillipps appointed Hemings, Burbage, and Slye his overseers. Condell and Richard Burbage served as executors of the estate of Tooley (Malone, III, p. 470; Collier's *Actors*, pp. 146, 243).

"*H. D.*, I, p. 148, Sept. 21, 1601: "Layd owt for the company . . . for ower metynge at the Tavern when we did eatte ower vensone the some of" 3 li. 12 s. 9 d.,—a good round sum for those days!

Ibid., I, p. 83, Jan. 8, 1597: "Lent vnto the company when they fyrst played dido at nyght,"—30 s.

Ibid., I, p. 85, March 20, 1598: "Lent . . . vnto the company for to spend at the Readyng of that boocke [Chettle, Dekker, and Drayton's *Famous Wars of Henry I*] at the sonne in new fyshstreat"—5 s.

Ibid., I, p. 85, March 25, 1598: "Layd owt at the same tyme [when the company was reading Chettle, Dekker, Wilson, and Drayton's *Earl Godwin*] at the tavarne in fyshstreate for good cheare"—5 s.

Ibid., I, p. 179, August 21, 1602: "Layd owt for the company at the mermayd when we weare at owre a grement . . . the some of" 9 s.

Ibid., I, p. 166, May 16, 1602: "Layd owt for the companye when they Read the playe of Jeffa for wine at the tavern"—2 s.

On two occasions in 1594 Henslowe also lent the company another

Dekker or Ben Jonson to assist Edward Alleyn in presiding at such a meeting, the Admiral's Men (as well as the poets and actors of Shakspeare's company) must have heard nimble words spoken and seen great deeds done at the Mermaid.⁵⁵

The hirelings of the companies and the apprentices of the actor-sharers were probably not admitted to these merry meetings, except as they might be called in to have a small part entrusted to them at a first reading. We may note in this connection that the companies strengthened their organizations from time to time by promoting the best of their apprentices and hirelings to shareholdership. Alexander Cook was so promoted after serving his apprenticeship under Hemings.⁵⁶ Amongst Cook's junior colleagues were Samuel Gilburne and Christopher Beeston, remembered respectively as "my late apprentice" and "my servant" in the will of Augustine Phillipps.⁵⁷ Similarly, Nicholas Tooley, another sharer in Shakspeare's company, refers in his will to "my late master, Richard Burbage."⁵⁸ In the Henslowe companies similar conditions prevailed. Charles Massye and Samuel Rowley were hirelings in 1598, but had become sharers by 1600.⁵⁹

16 s. 8 d. "for drinckinge" and "for drinckinge with the Jentellermen." *Ibid.*, I, p. 198.

⁵⁵ The Admiral's Men and the playwrights of Shakspeare's company were not the only members of the profession who occasionally looked upon the wine when it was red. "Drink must clap up the bargain" say Sir Oliver Owlet's Men in *Histrion-Mastix*, upon concluding a bit of professional business, and the poet Posthaste interrupts one of his effusions in characteristic fashion:

And now my Marsters in this bravadoe
I can read no more without Canadoe.

(Simpson, *School of Shakspeare*, II, pp. 23, 33.)

⁵⁶ See notes 50-51.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, III, p. 485.

⁵⁸ Malone, III, p. 472.

⁵⁹ *H. D.*, I, p. 204; II, 101.

Thomas Heywood became a hireling in 1598 and a sharer by 1602, and Nathan Field was similarly advanced.⁶⁰ And I have shown elsewhere that another playwright, Ben Jonson's "man," Richard Brome, was in all probability Jonson's acting-apprentice in 1614 and a sharer in the *Lady Elizabeth's Men* as early as 1628.⁶¹ The hirelings in their time played many unimportant parts, but no company could succeed without them. By holding out to them the prospect of advancement⁶² the actor-sharers were able to keep them at their work at low wages; incidentally the companies could readily strengthen their organization by an infusion of new blood as the need arose.

Still another aspect of the internal organization of the companies is worthy of more than the passing notice we have already given it. It has to do with the distribution of company shares. Jonson in *The Poetaster*⁶³ implies that young actors were sometimes admitted into the companies as quarter-sharers,—that is to say, they received one-quarter of one of the eight to twelve whole shares⁶³

⁶⁰ *H. D.*, I, p. 204; II, pp. 284-5; Murray, I, pp. 185-6.

⁶¹ See chapter VI of my dissertation.

⁶² Captain Tucca in Jonson's *Poetaster* knew all about the hopes and aspirations of young hirelings. His boys, the Pyrgi, do several bits of successful play-acting to help the Captain to certain much-needed loans, and their grateful master gives them the proper encouragement. "Sir, thou shalt have a quarter share, be resolute," he says in Act III, Scene i. As the Captain grows more enthusiastic the boys fare better still. "Boy, you can have but half a share now," he remarks in Act I, Scene i, the implication being that it will not be long before the lad will be ready for a whole share. A little later in the same scene he addresses the lads as "fellow-sharers." See also Dekker, in *The Wonderful Yearre*, Grosart, I, p. 201: "The worst players Boy stood upon his good parts, swearing tragical . . . oathes that how villainously soeuer he randed he would . . . be halfe a sharer (at least) at home or else strowle . . . with some notorious wicked floundring company abroad."

⁶³ Fleay (*Stage*, p. 143) states that "the prefix 'Mr.' [in the lists

into which the company's part of the total daily receipts was usually divided. Hamlet was not contented with the "half a share" which Horatio jestingly suggested as a proper compensation for him,⁶⁴—but Alexander Cook, as we have seen, was probably less pretentious than the Prince of Denmark. Allusions to half-sharers are plentiful, and I believe that a half share was the usual compensation allowed to young actors of promise who had not yet reached the height of their powers.⁶⁵ The amount of

of actors given in royal licenses or treasury warrants for court performances] indicates a sharer." It is certainly unlikely that mere hirelings would have been named in such documents. On the other hand both Fleay (p. 189) and Greg (*H. D.*, II, p. 103) point out that the title prefixed to a name in the list of chief actors in the play-books does not necessarily indicate a sharer. Royal licenses and patents, therefore, offer the most reliable indication as to the number of actor-sharers in the companies, though the lists in these documents are often incomplete. The lists of signatures accompanying acknowledgments of indebtedness on the part of Henslowe's companies, settle the question for these organizations. The number of sharers ranges between five (Leicester's Men, in 1574) and fourteen (the Palsgrave's Men, 1611; *Malone Soc. Coll.*, I, p. 262 ff.). The King's Men had thirteen sharers in 1625, but apparently only nine in 1635 (Halliwell-P., I, p. 313). The patent of Prince Henry's Men in 1606 names eight sharers; in 1609 they had at least nine (*Malone Soc. Coll.*, I, p. 268). The Admiral's Men in 1597 had ten sharers, and the same number of sharers represented the Queen's Men at the coronation procession of James I in 1603 (Murray, I, p. 186). This number is the one which recurs most frequently, and it may be taken as a fair average. The complement of apprentices, hirelings, and attendants attached to most of the companies was generally about equal in number to the sharers. See Chapter VI of my dissertation, and, for the number of actors in the travelling companies, *Modern Philology*, January, 1920.

⁶⁴ *Hamlet*, III, ii, 291:

Ham. Would not this . . . get me a fellowship in a cry of players, sir?

Hor. Half a share.

Ham. A whole one, I . . .

⁶⁵ Simpson, *Shakespeare's England*, II, p. 244, takes too literally

annual income a half-sharer might look forward to, we shall consider presently. Meanwhile it should be noted that some of the companies provided still another intermediate step for men further along the road to professional eminence. Such men were ranked as "three-quarter sharers."⁶⁶ The "master-sharers,"⁶⁷ finally,—the five or six mature men who stood at the head of each company "in equal fellowship" (as did the five incorporators of the Duke of York's Men in 1609)⁶⁸—enjoyed a full share each, and it is unlikely that anyone had more—not even the great Richard Burbage or Edward Alleyn.⁶⁹ Thomas Greene, the most popular actor of the Red Bull Company about 1620,⁷⁰ is described in the Baskerville suit as "one of the principall and cheif persons of the said Companie, and a full adventurer, storer, and sharer of in and amongst them."⁷¹ If anyone in the company might have been

Dekker's allusion in *Lanthorne and Candlelight* (Grosart, III, p. 241) to "an undeserving plaier for halfe a share." I cannot see that this implies that half-sharers were generally poor actors. A more reasonable interpretation would be that Dekker was thinking of a half-sharer who was not worthy of his place. That the half-sharers were ambitious to become whole sharers is only natural. The *Hamlet* passage referred to above is paralleled by one in the fourth act of *Histrion-Mastix*:

Half a share, half a shirt. A comedian—
A whole share or turn Camelion.

⁶⁶"The threequarters sharers aduaucinge them selves to whole shares. . . ." *Henslowe Papers*, p. 88. Collier, *Annals*, ed. 1831, II, p. 429, cites *The Owl and the Nightingale* (1604): "The Ant began to stalk like a three-quarter sharer."

⁶⁷See *Histrion-Mastix*, Act v, line 80: "You that are master-sharers must provide you upon your own purses" (Collier).

⁶⁸See above, note 42.

⁶⁹It should be remembered that these men profited heavily as housekeepers. See note 72, below.

⁷⁰*Greene's Tu Quoque* was named for him.

⁷¹Fleay, *Stage*, p. 280.

entitled to more than one share, he would have been the man—but he was simply a “full sharer” and nothing more.⁷²

⁷² It must be admitted that Dekker, in the *Lanthorne and Candle-light* passage referred to in note 65, speaks also of “a whole sharer and a halfe.” While it is not impossible that Dekker may be referring here to company shares only, and that some few actors may actually have held more than a whole share in their company, it should be said that the present passage, and possibly one other, are the only ones which admit of such an interpretation,—that is, if one chooses to ignore the better evidence of the Baskerville case and the agreement of the Duke of York’s Men. Before disposing of the Dekker passage, I may say a word concerning the other. It is a very puzzling remark made in the course of a letter dated 1592 and written by the actor Richard Jones to Edward Alleyn. Jones asks for a loan to enable him to get his clothes out of pawn for an acting trip “beyond the seas wt. mr. browne and the company but not by his meanes for he is put to half a shaer and to stay hear, for they ar all against his goinge” (*Hens. Papers*, p. 33, n. 4). Greg as well as Cohn (*Shakespeare in Germany*, p. xxxii) confess their inability to make anything out of this statement, and I am convinced that Murray (I, pp. 50-51) explains it incorrectly. He says the words “probably mean that those of the company who did not intend going abroad objected to Robert Browne, in all likelihood their head player, leaving them, and reduced his part in their profits to half a share so that he might not have the means to fit out a company for abroad.” There is no evidence whatsoever to show that any company had the right to confiscate the property of its members by reducing their earnings from a whole share to a half share; moreover, a company seeking to keep one of its members from leaving it, would hardly cut down his income as an inducement for him to stay. It is just possible that the passage may be read as follows: “for he is put to (half a shaer) and to stay hear,”—that is, given an additional half share to induce him to stay. The passage is too obscure, however, to count as evidence against the view that no actor held more than a full share in the company.—As regards Dekker’s “whole sharer and a half,” such a person might well have been an actor who held a whole share in his company and a half share in the theatre in which he acted. This was about the situation of Swanson, one of the claimants in the 1635 Share Papers, who was a whole sharer in his company, and held a one-third share in the Blackfriars (Halliwell-P., I, p. 314). Simpson (*Shakesp. England*, II, p. 244)

It is misleading, therefore, to speak of Richard Burbage as "the star of Shakespeare's troupe," as Professor Adams does,⁷³ unless we are careful to use the term without its present connotations. A system of organization so democratic in its distribution of responsibilities, opportunities, and rewards, did not lend itself to the stultifying influences of the "star" system. Professor Baker and Professor Brander Matthews in recent years have emphasized the influence exerted upon Shakespeare the playwright by his intimate knowledge of the men for whom his work

regards a whole share as "the market scale of wages." I must again refer to the case of Greene and the Duke of York's Men in support of my view that a whole share went only to the leading actors. Simpson calls attention to the fact that Dawes, in the contract discussed above (see note 35) bound himself to play "at the rate of one whole share according to the custome of players." But Dawes, as we have seen, was an actor of some prominence; a whole share for him would therefore have been quite in accord with "the custom of players."—In this connection it is necessary to refer once more to the multiplicity of "shares" enjoyed by certain actor-sharers who were also housekeepers. (See note 40.) Much confusion has resulted from the fact that Elizabethan documents—like many writers on Elizabethan topics—fail to distinguish between the two kinds of sharers. Of course one could hardly expect *the documents* to do so. Thus Theodor Elze was misled by certain allusions to Richard Burbage in John Gee's anti-Jesuit tract called *New Shreds of the Old Snare* (London, 1624, p. 21): "Who can tell how many sharers there are that must take part of that which is paid? Wherein I hope that these two Jesuits . . . have a treble or quattuple share each of them, as being the principall overruling Masters. Would any man thinke that Burbage should be content with a single share, who was the flower and life of his company, the Loadstone of the Auditory and the Roscius of the Stage?" (see *Shakesp. Jahrbuch*, XII, p. 315). On the basis of this remark, which probably alludes to Burbage's proprietary holdings rather than to his company share, Elze proceeds to assign to Burbage two shares in the company, one to Shakespeare, and one-half each to Hemings, Condell, Phillips, and Kemp—a conjecture which is far from representing the facts.

⁷³ *Shakespearean Playhouses*, p. 199.

was written, and there can be no doubt that in working out some of his greatest characters he must have remembered that Burbage was to act them. But the Shaksperian muse was not of that sorry sort which produces made-to-order garments to fit the tastes and idiosyncrasies of a single star. Far from being one-man plays, his dramas were written for a great company of actors; and what is true of Shakspeare holds good also of the Elizabethan drama in general. Its breadth and variety may be ascribed in no slight degree to the fact that the organization of the dramatic companies provided the great poets of a great age with ample facilities for the interpretation of many characters and many phases of life. And Richard Burbage, I imagine, would have had little inclination to surrender his place among his peers for the artificial and idolatrous solitude of modern starhood.

We have yet to look into the financial status of the actor-sharers. Before we do so it will be well to notice how the dramatic companies toward the close of our period gradually lost their powers of self-determination, and how the ground was prepared for the coming of the star-system and theatrical monopoly with the Restoration. Maas mistakenly assumed that the general business organization of the dramatic companies and the "duties and rights" of their managers in particular "are best illustrated by the several contracts of D'Avenant,"⁷⁴ who, with Thomas Killigrew, shared the monopoly of the Re-

⁷⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 253. "Wir dürfen annehmen," says Maas, "dass im wesentlichen diese Verhältnisse für Theatertruppen vor 1642 normal waren, vielleicht mit Ausnahme der Königsgesellschaft und der ganz unbekannten Truppen dritten Ranges." It will appear from what has already been said and from the material to follow, that not only the organization of the King's Men but that of every other Elizabethan company of which we know anything, differed decidedly from that of the two Restoration companies.

storation theatre. To show the striking differences in the status of the dramatic companies before and after the Restoration, I may summarize the points thus far made concerning Elizabethan company activities and organization. We have seen, in the first place, that the companies, and not the housekeepers, were in charge of productions. Furthermore, the Elizabethan companies were democratic. They made their own rules and elected their own officers, and each one of the leading actor-sharers probably had some special "place and charge" in the general management of company affairs. Again, while the younger actors had to be content with quarter and half shares, the evidence indicates that the leading actors shared equally in the profits. These conditions were generally reversed after the Restoration. D'Avenant and Killigrew built their own theatres, wrote their own plays, and they—instead of the companies—had complete control over productions. D'Avenant, however, soon appointed Thomas Betterton his deputy manager, and this great actor by virtue of his several offices came to exercise singly all the powers and prerogatives which in the days of Shakspeare belonged to the company as a whole. To him belongs the somewhat questionable honor of initiating the new order of things.

The powers made over by D'Avenant to his successor were very great; the rights of the company correspondingly small. At D'Avenant and Killigrew's new theatres the total receipts of one portion of the house no longer went to the companies, to be shared among their members. The total receipts of D'Avenant's new playhouse in Lincoln's Inn Fields were divided into fifteen shares; of these, five went to the company and the rest to D'Avenant. The contract between him and his company⁷⁵ explains that

⁷⁵ For which see Malone, III, pp. 259-262. The quotations which follow are from this contract.

D'Avenant is to apply two of his shares "towards house-rent, building, making of frames for scenes," and one to the "provision of habitts, properties and scenes." His remaining seven shares went to him to enable him "to maintene all the women that are to performe"⁷⁶ . . . and in consideration of erectinge and establishinge [the] companie." The contract further empowered him to appoint "the wardrobe keeper and all necessary persons as he . . . shall think fitt, and the sallary to be defrayed at the publicke charge."⁷⁷ To D'Avenant and Killigrew, furthermore, and not to the companies, went the royal payments for court performances.⁷⁸ And D'Avenant's actors, finally, signed a contract by which they specifically recognized "that the said Sir William D'Avenant alone shall be [their] *Master and Superior*," and that "when any sharer amongst the actors shall die, the said Sir William D'Avenant shall appoint his successor,"⁷⁹—a far cry indeed from the days when Beeston was elected business manager by Queen Ann's Men because they regarded him as the "thriving man of ability and means" best fitted for the task of looking after the company's finances. For it must be remembered that D'Avenant and Tom Killigrew, far from being chosen by the actors from their own number, were directly appointed by Charles II in reward for former services. Under the new régime the importance of the companies as such was reduced to infinitesimal proportions, and the actors soon became mere paid employees of the manager.

⁷⁶ Whose employment, of course, was entirely in his charge.

⁷⁷ The company had only the right to appoint "half the number of doorkeepers."

⁷⁸ In 1667 warrants for 1010 li. were made out in favor of D'Avenant and Killigrew (Chalmers, *Apology*, p. 530, and note).

⁷⁹ Henslowe in his palmiest days could never have dreamt of exercising such power as did these Restoration managers.

This interesting change from company control and independence to subservient acknowledgment of a "Master and Superior" has never been adequately noticed, for the simple reason that the business organization of the Elizabethan dramatic companies has not received the attention it deserves. It should be said, however, that the change was not so revolutionary as would appear at first sight. Indeed, there was much foreshadowing of coming events in the theatrical conditions prevailing during the decade before the closing of the theatres. The greatest encroachment upon the ancient privileges of the companies made in Restoration times was, of course, the abrogation of their right to direct their own affairs and the appointment of company managers by the king. In making these appointments, however, Charles II was following a precedent rather than establishing one. The patent granted to D'Avenant by Charles I in 1639, though it did not become effective,⁸⁰ invested him with power not merely to build a playhouse but also "to *entertain, govern, privilege and keep* such and so many players" as "the said William D'Avenant shall think fit and approve."⁸¹ And the royal patent distinctly enjoins D'Avenant's prospective company to "*obey* the said Mr. Davenant, and *follow his orders and directions.*"⁸² The language of this document clearly indicates that the days of company independence had begun to wane before the close of the theatres, and

⁸⁰ Because of the uncertainties of the time.

⁸¹ Malone, III, p. 95.

⁸² There is every reason to believe that the company D'Avenant intended to raise in 1639 was to have been a company of men. Two years earlier Beeston had been ordered to form and govern a company of children, "The King and Queen's Young Company." Since D'Avenant's project did not materialize, he was given Beeston's place in 1640, when Beeston had fallen into disfavor. See Malone, III, p. 240; Murray, I, p. 370.

there is other evidence to the same effect. It is clear that the royal patronage extended to the London dramatic companies became increasingly valuable financially as the years went on,⁸³ but it was offset by a growing amount of royal control, which was in the end to result in the supplanting of the free theatre by a royal monopoly.⁸⁴ Soon after the accession of James I all the permanent London companies were taken under the patronage of some member of the royal family,⁸⁵ and these patrons, unlike the noblemen whom they superseded, were not content with exercising a mere nominal supervision. Not only through the ever-increasing activities of his Master of the Revels, who censored the plays, but also through his Lord Chamberlain, who came to be regularly called upon to settle theatrical disputes and questions of policy, did the king and the royal family undertake to exact the price of their patronage. Thus the important 1635 sharing dispute between the actor-sharers and housekeepers of the Globe and Blackfriars was settled not in the courts but by the decision of Pembroke, the Lord Chamberlain.⁸⁶ The latter took it upon himself also to issue various orders protecting the companies in the possession of their stock of plays,⁸⁷ and

⁸³ See note 27.

⁸⁴ Miss Gildersleeve and other writers on the government regulation of the theatres during this period (see, for example, *Camb. Hist. Eng. Lit.*, vi, p. 246) have been content to note the increased activities of the censorship under the Revels Office, without examining the effect of the increased royal control over the companies in other directions.

⁸⁵ A statute of 1604 forbade the licensing of players under the patronage of nobles (Fleay, *Stage*, p. 206). See note 27.

⁸⁶ As early as 1612 the Chamberlain of the Queen's household was called upon to settle the Baskerville case out of court (Fleay, p. 281).

⁸⁷ In 1639 the Lord Chamberlain warned "all masters and governors of playhouses" not to appropriate plays owned by the King and Queen's Young Company at the Cockpit (Malone, iii, pp. 159-60).

otherwise mediating between them.⁸⁸ From the exercise of general control of this sort to the actual appointment of company managers by the crown was but a short step, and the powers granted to Beeston⁸⁹ and D'Avenant in 1637 and 1639 approximated those of D'Avenant and Killigrew after the Restoration.

The preliminary steps toward the monopoly of 1660, however, in so far as they may be recognized in this Pre-Restoration interference with company privileges, cannot be traced to a date earlier than 1637, nor should it be assumed that all company managers were appointed by the Chamberlain at that time. That such appointments were something of a novelty, and that the actors resented the encroachment upon their rights, appears from the fact that Richard Heton, one of the sewers of her majesty's chamber and the chief housekeeper of the Salisbury Court Theatre, between 1637 and 1639 pleaded constantly but apparently in vain that he be made "governor" of the Queen's Company at that playhouse, with privileges and powers like those granted to D'Avenant. Heton points out that if the company "should continew at libertie as they now are, and have power to take her Mts. service alonge wth. them," they are likely to "exact any new imposicons upon the housekeepers at their pleasure." He would have it understood, however, that he is actuated mainly by an unselfish desire to make the service of the Queen's Men more acceptable to her by strengthening the company, and he concludes that "the setling of the service and Company upon condicions certaine and of a knowne

⁸⁸ In 1633 the King's Men were given permission to draft actors from any other company at their own discretion to fill vacancies in their ranks (Mrs. Stopes, *Shakesp. Jahrbuch*, XLVI, p. 103).

⁸⁹ See note 82.

governor would be the occasion to avoid many differences and disturbances.”⁹⁰

From his point of view it doubtless would have done so. Perhaps some sort of concentration of power would have been necessary in any case to meet the new requirements of the Restoration theatre; indeed there are indications that before the close of our period the companies upon their own initiative were putting by some of their old methods.⁹¹ It is clear, however, that the abrogation of

⁹⁰ See the documents collected by Peter Cunningham in the *Shakes. Soc. Papers*, 1849, pp. 95 ff. Heton asks that “the power for electing her Mts. Company of Comedians be graunted only to my selfe that I may alwaies have a Company in readiness at Salisberry Cort for her Mts. service,”—and also that “such of the company as will not be ordered and governed by me as of their governor or shall not be by the Mr. of his Mts. Revells and myselfe, I may have power to discharge from the company.”

⁹¹ It is interesting to note that after the death of Shakspeare the sharp competition between the companies of earlier days appears to have moderated to some extent. Malone states that “soon after his [Shakspeare’s] death, four of the principal companies then subsisting made a union, and were afterwards called The United Companies, but I know not precisely in what this union consisted” (III, p. 224). He thinks it arose from “a penury of actors,” and that “the managers contracted to permit their performers in each house occasionally to assist their brethren in the other theatres in the representation of plays.” I have been unable, however, to find any evidence pointing to “a penury of actors.” It is clear, however, that the actors of two companies occasionally gave a special performance of some one play. So, for example, Field’s *Amends for Ladies* was acted “both by the Prince’s Servants and the Lady Elizabeths” sometime before 1618. Again, in 1618 Hemings bought a Lenten dispensation “in the name of the four companys” (compare note 23). Sir Henry Herbert continues to speak of “the four companies” jointly in such a way as to indicate that some sort of working agreement may have existed between them. In the last decades of our period we do not hear of such another “ciuill warre . . . betweene players” as Dekker prophesied in *The Rauens Almanacke* in 1609 (Grosart, IV, p. 210). On the other hand, their agreement, whatever it may have been, did not prevent the usual

company rights by Charles I was one of the important steps leading to theatrical monopoly under the Merry Monarch.

A word remains to be said upon a subject which must have been of very immediate interest to the dramatic companies in their own day—the financial status of the individual actor-sharer. In a discussion, elsewhere, of Shakspeare's income, I have presented the evidence which leads me to believe that the average earnings of actor-sharers did not exceed 100 li. a year, with an additional 10 li. of "cort monny,"—that is to say, some \$3,500 to \$5,000 a year in our money.⁹² It must be remembered that such incomes were enjoyed only by the actors who stood at the top of their profession. Their earnings were certainly substantial, but by no means so great as has been generally supposed from their own day down to the present. The players' "damnable excessive gains"⁹³ aroused the envy of such of their own contemporaries as did not favor the quality

stealing of plays. The Induction to *The Malcontent* (1605) alludes thereto; again, in 1627, the Red Bull company had to be officially restrained from performing Shakspeare's plays (see notes 24 and 25) and similar orders were required as late as 1639 (see note 87).

⁹² See *Studies in Philology*, xv, pp. 83-87. The purchasing power of Elizabethan money was six or eight times greater than that of our day—before the war. The reference covers my discussion of Sir Sidney Lee's view on this point. I believe that the evidence does not warrant his estimate of 180 li. for the annual income of actor-sharers.

⁹³ See Henry Parrot's *Laquei Ridiculosi or Springes for Woodcocks* (1613), Epigram 131:

Cotta's become a Player most men know
And will no longer take such toyling paines,
For heer's the spring (saith he) whence pleasures flow
And brings them damnable excessiue gaines,
That now are Cedars growne from shrubs & sprigs
Since *Greene's Tu Quoque* and those Garlicke jigs.

Compare *Shaksp. Soc. Papers*, 1844, p. 21.

and did not know of the heavy expenditures the actors had to meet. The author of the *Return from Parnassus* (part two) makes Kemp say to the hungry students who aspire to a career on the boards: "Be merry my lads, you have happened upon the most excellent vocation in the world for money: they come North and South to bring it to our playhouse,"⁹⁴—a view of things of such advertising value to the players that they would have been the last to refute it, even though it does not present the whole case. The students, naturally enough, grumble at the prosperity of the actors:

England affords those glorious vagabonds
That carried earst their fardels on their backes
Coursers to ride on through the gazing streetes
Sooing it in their glaring Satten sutes—
And Pages to attend their maisterships. . . .⁹⁵

There is evidence to show that some of the actor-sharers did have pages to attend their masterships⁹⁶ and that some of them acquired substantial holdings of land and other property,⁹⁷ but it is worth while to glance at the other

⁹⁴ Act IV, Scene iii, ed. Macray, p. 139.

⁹⁵ Act V, Scene i, p. 144.

⁹⁶ Thomas Downton of the Admiral's Men in 1599 hired "a couenant servant . . . for 11 yers . . . & he to geue him viii s. a weeke as longe as they playe & after they lye styll one fortnyght then to geue hime halfe wages" (*H. D.*, I, p. 40), and Gabriel Spencer, who later enjoyed the distinction of being killed by Ben Jonson, bricklayer, is known to have had "his mane bradshawe" (*H. D.*, I, p. 79.)

⁹⁷ Shakspeare in his will disposed of some 375 li. in money, and much land (Neilson and Thorndike, *The Facts About Shakespeare*, p. 208) but he, of course, as playwright and housekeeper had sources of income not open to most actors. Augustine Phillipps and Thomas Pope, who were also housekeepers, left 120 li. and 350 li., respectively, and other valuable property (Malone, III, pp. 470, 506). Nicholas Tooley and Thomas Greene, who were not housekeepers, left 220 and 300 li., respectively (Malone, III, p. 486; Fleay, *Stage*, p. 192).

side of the picture as shown in William Rowley's preface to *A Fair Quarrel*, a play in which he collaborated with Middleton: "This great world . . . indeed the players themselves have the least part of it, for I know few that have lands (which are a part of the world) and therefore no grounded men; but howsoever they serve, for mutes happily must wear good clothes for attendance; yet all have exits and all must be stript in the tiring-house (viz. the grave) for none must carry anything out of the stock."⁹⁸ Even so, it would be a mistake to assume with Miss Sheavyn that Elizabethan actors were "poorly paid" and "low in public esteem,"⁹⁹ or to accept without reserve the bad character given the actors in contemporary documents which emphasize their questionable conduct and loose living.¹⁰⁰ Sir Thomas Overbury's word on the subject is to the point: "I value a worthy Actor by the corruption of some few of the quality as I wold doe gold in the oore. I should not minde the drosse but the purity of the mettall."¹⁰¹ Thomas Heywood, who knew and loved his fellows as few men did, expressed himself to the same effect. "Many amongst us," he writes, "I know to be of substance, of government, of sober lives and temperate carriages . . . and if amongst so many . . . there be any few degenerate from the rest in that good demeanor which is both requisite and expected at their hands, let me entreat you not to censure hardly of all for the misdeeds of

⁹⁸ Bullen's *Middleton*, iv, p. 157.

⁹⁹ *Literary Profession in the Elizabethan Age*, p. 93.

¹⁰⁰ See, for example, Gainsford's *Rich Cabinet*: "Player is a great spender and indeed may resemble strumpets who get their money filthily and spend it profusely" (Hazlitt, *English Drama and Stage*, p. 230), and Gosson, *Plays Confuted*, "Let them not looke to liue by playes, the little thrift that followeth their greate gaine is a manifest token that God hath cursed it" (Hazlitt, p. 217).

¹⁰¹ *Characters*, ed. Rimbault, p. 148.

some.”¹⁰² Maas, in concluding his study of the dramatic companies, pays no attention to Heywood’s plea. “Die meisten Mitglieder der Truppen,” he writes, “scheinen leichtes Komödiantenblut gehabt zu haben.”¹⁰³ It is not too much to say that something besides “leichtes Komödiantenblut” must have flowed in the veins of the men who, as we have seen, bore a heavy share of the responsibility for the production of the Elizabethan drama.

ALWIN THALER.

¹⁰² “An Apology for Actors,” *Shakesp. Soc.*, 1841.

¹⁰³ *Op. cit.*, p. 267.

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IX.—THE ENGLISH BALLADS AND THE
CHURCH

Many origins have been suggested for the type of narrative song appearing in the English and Scottish traditional ballads: minstrel genesis, origin in the dance, improvisations of mediæval peasant communes, or descent from the dance songs of primitive peoples. The hypothesis of minstrel origin was that first to be advanced and it has always retained supporters. There remains a possibility not yet brought forward which deserves to be presented for what it is worth, since the problem, though it may be insoluble, has its attraction for critic and student. We have but meager knowledge of the ballad melodies of pre-Elizabethan days, and we can get but little farther with the study of the ballads by way of research into mediæval music. Moreover the earliest texts remaining to us seem to have been meant for recital rather than for singing. In general, the melodies of ballads are more shifting, less dependable, than are the texts, in the sense

of the plots and the characters which the texts present. This is true of contemporary folk-songs and it was probably true earlier. One text may be sung to a variety of airs or one air may serve for many texts. Nor can we get much farther with the study of ballads by way of the minstrels. They have had much attention already; and nothing has ever been brought out really barring them from major responsibility for ballad creation and diffusion in the earlier periods. Again, we can get but little farther by studying the mediæval dance, or folk-improvisations, or the dance songs of primitive peoples, all of which have been associated with the Child ballads to an exaggerated degree. It is time to try a new angle of approach—the last remaining—although the hypothesis which it suggests is far removed from the theory of genesis enjoying the greatest acceptance at the present time, and although it—like its predecessors—may not take us very far.

It has been customary among theorizers completely to discard the chronological order of the ballad texts remaining to us, and to argue toward origin and development from a type of ballad like *Lord Randal* and *Edward*, of comparatively late appearance, when such reversal of chronology best suited the theory to be advanced. The contrary procedure, theorizing from the facts of chronology, is the logical one. If the ballad texts which are oldest are given attention and emphasis, actual fact adhered to and conjecture omitted, can anything distinctive be reached? This method of approach is one to which the ballads have never been subjected in more than a cursory way. If it is tried, in what direction does it lead?

I

THE EARLIEST BALLAD TEXTS

If we accept the body of English and Scottish ballad material as defined by Professor F. J. Child, the oldest ballad texts existing have to do rather strikingly with the church. They have unmistakably an ecclesiastical stamp, and sound like an attempt to popularize Biblical history or legend. By our oldest texts are meant those to be found in early manuscripts of established date, not texts recovered from an oral source or found in manuscripts of later centuries.¹ The earliest remaining English ballad is conceded to be the *Judas*, a narrative of 36 lines in rhyming couplets, which endows him with a wicked sister, refers to his betrayal of Christ for thirty pieces of silver, and reflects some of the curiosities of mediæval legend concerning him.² The manuscript preserving it, in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, is certainly of the thirteenth century. The same manuscript contains *A Ballad of the Twelfth Day*, a ballad of the same general nature as the *Judas* and written in the same hand.³ It has probably escaped general recognition as a ballad because composed in monorhyme quatrains, a more elaborate form, instead of in the couplets of the *Judas*.

From the fifteenth century comes *Inter Diabolus et*

¹ For the dating of ballad texts, see E. Flügel, *Zur Chronologie der englischen Balladen, Anglia*, vol. xxi (1899), pp. 312 ff.

² Compare P. F. Baum, "The English Ballad of Judas Iscariot," *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, vol. xxxi (1916), p. 181, and "The Mediæval Legend of Judas Iscariot," *ibid.*, p. 481.

³ Printed, with editorial notes, by W. W. Greg, *The Modern Language Review*, vol. viii, p. 64, and vol. ix (1913), p. 235.

Virgo, ancestor of many riddling ballads, preserved in the Bodleian library at Oxford, a piece in which the devil is worsted by a clever and devout maiden. The questions and answers reach their climax in "God's flesh is better than bread" and "Jesus is richer than the King." Likewise from the fifteenth century is *St. Stephen and Herod*, in the Sloane manuscript of about the middle of the century, which incorporates the widespread mediæval legend of the cock crowing from the dish *Cristus natus est*, a legend which appears also in the well-known carol or religious ballad, *The Carnal and the Crane. Als I yode on a Mounday*, in 8-line stanzas, preserved in a fourteenth-century manuscript in the Cotton collection, is hardly a ballad, but a poem to which the later ballad, *The Wee Wee Man*, may be related. It is not admitted among ballads by Professor Child. *Thomas Rymer* is generally accounted old, since its hero is Thomas of Erceldoune; we do not have it, however, in early form, but from the eighteenth century, and there is no determining the time of its composition. There is a fifteenth-century poem, in ballad stanza, *Thomas of Erseldoune*, preserved in the Thornton manuscript, but it is usually classified as a romance or a romantic poem, never as a ballad. The existing ballad, on the same theme, is probably not a legacy from the romance, but an independent creation telling the same story. Possibly it is based on the romance. Among earlier texts are left, then, only a few greenwood and outlaw pieces from no farther back than the middle of the fifteenth century. The first is *Robin and Gandeleyne*, a greenwood ballad from about 1450, which opens in the reporter's manner of so many of the *chansons d'aventure*:—

I herde the carpynge of a clerk
Al at yone wodes ende.

Others are *Robin Hood and the Monk* (which has a *reverdi* opening), *Robin Hood and the Potter* of about 1500, and *A Gest of Robin Hood* of perhaps a few years later. There were earlier songs and rhymes, just as there were later songs and rhymes of Robin Hood,⁴ but whether he was celebrated in the *ballad* manner prior to the fifteenth century we do not know.⁵ The ecclesiastical pieces are in the couplet form usually recognized by scholars as the older for ballads, while *Robin and Gandeley*n and the Robin Hood pieces are in the familiar four-line stanza which became the staple ballad stanza. We should, very likely, go somewhat earlier than the thirteenth-century *Judas* for the genesis of the lyric type which it represents; but there is no doubt that, in respect to chronological appearance, our oldest ballads deal not with themes of love, romance, domestic tragedy, adventure, chronicle, or even outlawry—though the latter come as early as the fifteenth century—but instead are strikingly ecclesiastical.

It need hardly be pointed out that this scrutiny is a logical one to make, though it would be idle to think its results decisive. It seems to suggest that the ballad as a

⁴ Like the "rhymes" of Robin Hood mentioned in *Piers Plowman*.

⁵ The music of some of the Robin Hood songs, sometimes at least, seems to have been church music, or music of the same type. See a passage on "pryksong" in the Interlude of *The Four Elements*, dated by Schelling about 1517. (Halliwell edition, *Percy Society Publications*, 1848, pp. 50, 51.) See also *pricksong* in *The Oxford Dictionary*. There should be nothing surprising in the singing of ballads to music of ecclesiastical type, if such was the case. In contemporary folk-song, hymn tunes are constantly utilized, in the United States and elsewhere—as in the Faroe Islands, according to Thuren. The words of *John Brown*, in the period of the Civil War, were put together to a popular Methodist camp-meeting tune. Jean Beck (*La Musique des Troubadours*, Paris, 1910, pp. 19-24) leans to the opinion that the source of troubadour music, hence of Romance lyric poetry in general, is to be found in the music of the church.

poetic type, a story given in simple lyrical or singable form, may have received impetus from, or have been evolved through the desire to popularize a scriptural story or legend. In other words, it is as though the ballad, like the religious carols and the miracle plays and a great mass of ecclesiastical lyrics and narrative poetry, might be a part of that great mediæval movement to popularize for edifying reasons biblical characters and tales, a movement having its first impulse in the festival occasions of the church. Then, again like the drama, it passes from ecclesiastical hands, with edification the purpose, into secular hands, with the underlying purpose of entertainment. To follow farther the possibilities, once the type was popularized and mainly in the hands of the minstrels, as the drama passed into the control of the guilds, a variety of material was assimilated, and (still like the drama) the religious material, having historically initial place, became submerged and ultimately well-nigh lost to view. The minstrels of great houses sang of the martial deeds of those houses, as of the Percys, the Stanleys, the Howards.^a Popular outlaws were celebrated, though in a somewhat upper-class way, in the Robin Hood pieces, in the period when outlaws were popular figures in literature; while for the entertainment of aristocratic mixed audiences, for which so many of the literary types of the Middle Ages were developed, all kinds of material, romantic and legendary and the like, were utilized. In its period of full development, the ballad shades off into many types, the epic *chanson* in *Robin Hood*, the allegory in *The Rose of England*, the verse chronicle in *The Battle of Otterbourne*, the romance in *Sir Aldingar* and *Earl Brand*, the aube in *The*

^a In *The Hunting of the Cheviot*; *The Rose of England* and *Flodden Field*; *Sir Andrew Barton*.

Gray Cock, the lament in *Johnny Campbell*, the carol in *The Cherry Tree Carol*, and theological discussion in verse in *The Carnal and the Crane*.⁷ The ecclesiastics and the minstrels, between them, were responsible for all or nearly all the new types of mediæval poetry, and (possibly enough) for the ballads too.⁸ Another illustration of the passing of an ecclesiastical mode into secular hands, is the Mary worship of the church, which was secularized in Provençal poetry and crossed to England in the woman worship of the chivalric code, reflected in the romances and the romantic lyrics.

⁷ Other "literary" features of the ballads, the popular spring morning (*reverdi*) opening of the outlaw pieces and the frequent *chanson d'aventure* opening, were mentioned in connection with the discussion of fifteenth-century texts.

⁸ If ecclesiastical ballads are the earliest ballads, *The Carnal and the Crane*, a theological discussion between birds of the type liked in the Middle Ages, in which the Crane instructs her interrogator on the childhood and life of Jesus and in several apocryphal incidents, might be a ballad of earlier type than *Lord Randal*. Though itself first recorded in an eighteenth-century text, this ballad-carol has unmistakably early affiliations, as with *St. Stephen and Herod*, and early legendary matter concerning Christ. And the ballads *Dives and Lazarus*, traceable to the sixteenth century, *The Maid and the Palmer* of the Percy Manuscript, and *Brown Robin's Confession* of Buchan's collection, might represent an older type of material than *Edward* or *Babylon*. But this is purely speculative, and of no value as argument.

The ballad *Hugh of Lincoln*, or *The Jew's Daughter*, which still has vitality, though its earliest texts come from the middle of the eighteenth century, takes us back in its tragic story and its discovery of murder by miracle to the thirteenth century. The story of Hugh of Lincoln first appears in *The Annals of Waverley*, 1255, and in Matthew of Paris. It has parallels in the twelfth century and a cognate in Chaucer's *The Prioress's Tale*. *Hugh of Lincoln* refers us to an old story of definite date more certainly than do most of the ballads. It deserves mention among those exhibiting, it would appear, material of older type than the outlaw, chronicle, or romantic ballads.

It is certain that the earliest ballad texts do not sound as though they ever had any connection with the dance. Religious material sometimes appeared in mediæval dance songs, but it was the rarest of the many types of material found in such songs.⁹ There are traces of sporadic connection between the church and liturgical dancing in the Middle Ages, but established or widespread liturgical dancing is extremely doubtful. Testimonies are too abundant as to the stand taken by the mediæval church against dancing, whether by professional dancers or by the folk.

The application of the name "ballad," which means dance song, to the traditional lyric-epic did not come in a specific way until the eighteenth century; hence an etymological argument from the name, as indicating a dance origin for the species, should have no weight. A "ballad" in the fourteenth century was usually the artificial species which we now call the "ballade," a species which is to be associated with the dance. The name which we have fixed upon for them is perhaps responsible for our long association of the English and Scottish type with the dance, and for our refusal to look elsewhere for its genesis. In a manner exactly parallel, the word *carol* was applied late to religious songs of the Nativity and of Christmas (French *noëls*). When the word *carol* first appeared in English it meant a secular dance song of spring and love. We name religious songs of Christmas by a word that first meant dance song, as we do our traditional lyric-epics in verse. But for the definite suggestion of their name, it might seem less surprising that our earliest ballad texts associate themselves with biblical edification, not with dancing throngs on the village green.

There are no earlier ballad documents in other countries

⁹ Böhme, *Geschichte des Tanzes* (1888), pp. 244 ff.

than in England, so that the chronology of the ballad's appearance is the only certain test that we have concerning the time of composition of a ballad text. The age of the story or theme of a ballad and the age of the ballad itself may be quite different matters. Besides, not all nations show a liking for ballads. The South African Dutch are said to have folk-tales, but no ballads. Italian folk-song, except in the extreme north, had no ballads, and French folk-song has no such wealth of ballad poetry as English has. Some parts of Spain have no ballads. The Danish ballads are those most closely related to the English. The oldest Danish manuscript collection of ballads comes from about 1550, although there are fragments of ballads and references to ballads which take us back somewhat earlier. One not very significant ballad, *Ridderen i Hjorte-ham*, is of about 1450. A systematic examination of Scandinavian ballads from the angle of approach of the rôle played by ecclesiastical material or by ecclesiastical agents of composition and diffusion, might have some bearing for or against the conjectures of the present paper; but probably it would yield little or nothing decisive. Also to be desired is an investigation of the religious narrative lyric for Old French popular verse, since the mediæval English lyric owes so much to French sources.

The *terminus a quo* for ballad origin must be the beginning of the twelfth century. Ballads of the rhyming form of the English and Scottish type cannot in origin antedate the Norman Conquest. If the Anglo-Saxons had ballads they were of the character of Old Teutonic verse, in some respects like the *Brunanburh* song, or the *Battle of Maldon*, or possibly like some of the *Charms*; in any case they were not in the rhyming form of the later ballads, the lyrical type which is under discussion here. The musical pliability of the lyric came from the south, across the

Channel, modifying the stubbornness of the Old Northern verse and its sameness of movement. Some old lore may have been handed on into the rhymed forms, old wine passing into new bottles, but the old song modes made way in general for the newer. Ballads of the rhyming Child pattern must have arisen, like modern poetry and prosody in general, after 1100. We have one ballad, *Judas*, and possibly a second, *A Ballad of Twelfth Night*, from the thirteenth century; and in general from 1200 onward much popular verse remains. It would help if more remained, but we need be at no loss as to what was in lyrical currency or what suited the popular taste. It will not do to assume that a type of ballad verse, the Child type, existed among the folk long before verse of its rhyming lyrical pattern, a new mediæval type, makes its appearance in the lyric in general. The folk are more likely to have adhered to the old alliterative verse with its dual movement long after it had lost popularity in higher circles than they are to have invented new rhyming forms before these appear from professional hands.

II

SOME BALLAD AFFILIATIONS

If ballad literature began with the religious ballads of the clericals, earlier ballads might be expected to show affinities with miracle plays and various types of scriptural and saints'-legend and other theological matter in verse and with religious lyrics. This they do show; and the resemblances are far stronger than they are to secular matter coming from the same early periods. Many of our existing Child ballads are on the border line between ballads and carols (French *noëls*), like *The Bitter Withy*, *The Holy Well*, *The Cherry-Tree Carol*, *The Carnal and the Crane*,

so that they appear in illustrative collections of both types of verse. They are easily accessible in collections of both ballads and carols, are included in the Child collection, and they need not be reproduced here. They deserve either classification and make clear that the ballad and the religious carol may be related forms. There is also obvious relationship to the miracle plays and their cognates. The opening and the end of the thirteenth-century *Harrowing of Hell*¹⁰ exhibit ballad-like stanzas:—

Alle herkneth to me nou,
A strif wolle y tellen ou
of ihesu ant of sathan,
tho ihesu wes to helle ygan . . .

in godhed tok he then way
that to helle gates lay.
The he come ther tho saide he
asse y shal nouthe telle the.

The Brome *Abraham and Isaac* is often suggestive of the ballad manner. It is familiar, and space need not be given to quotation from it. The ballads also show affinities to scriptural and saints'-legend matter in verse of narrative type.¹¹

¹⁰ Ed. all versions, W. H. Hulme, E. E. T. S., Extra Series, 100 (1907).

¹¹ Compare in *The Minor Pieces of the Vernon Manuscript*, vol. I, ed. Horstmann, E. E. T. S., No. 98 (1892) "The Miracles of Our Lady," p. 138, "The Saving of Crotey City," "The Child Slain by the Jews," "A Jew Boy in an Oven," etc., the opening of "The Visions of Seynt Poul wan he was rapt into Paradys," etc.; vol. II, ed. Furnivall (1901), "Susannah, or Seemly Susan," p. 626; and in the Sloane Manuscript 2593, "St. Nicholas and Three Maidens" and "Nowel, Mary moder cum and se," etc. Also many pieces in ms. Balliol 354.

The religious tag stanzas at the end of older ballads—often dropped in later texts—account for themselves better if emerging from ecclesiastical influence than if emerging from the purely secular minstrelsy condemned for its influence by the church. Examples are

Among the earlier minstrels, the dramatic instinct brought impersonation in which monologue and dialogue were given dramatically, by one individual, perhaps sometimes in special costume. There are religious pieces like the thirteenth-century *Harrowing of Hell*, or like *Judas* (it may well be) or *St. Stephen and Herod*, which suggest that they were to be given dramatically. The dramatic element is strong in ballads and also in carols and in many religious poems intended to be given for instruction.

Most striking, however, is the fact that in lyrical quality and style¹² the closest affinities of the ballads of the pre-Elizabethan period seem to be with carols and with religious songs. It is in manuscripts containing religious lyrical pieces that some of the oldest ballads and the nearest approaches to ballads are found.¹³ Impose the lyrical

the endings of *The Battle of Otterbourne* or *The Hunting of the Cheviot*:

Now let us all for the Perssy praye
to Jhesu most of myght,
To bryng hys sowlle to the blysse of heven
for he was a gentyll knight.

Or—

Jhesue Crist our balys bete,
and to the blys vs brynge.
Thus was the hountyng of the Chivyat:
God send vs alle good endyng.

But this is uncertain ground. Such passages appear in the romances, as *Sir Orpheo*, as well as in sermons, like the old Kentish sermons of the thirteenth century. In the Danish ballads, Steenstrup thinks these tag stanzas a sign of lateness.

¹² The influence of the song of the early church has often been pointed out. "The lyric art, it is hardly too much to say," declares Rhys, "was in English kept alive for nearly three centuries by the hymns of the monks and lay brothers" (*Lyric Poetry* [1913], p. 19).

¹³ The English religious lyric of the Middle Ages far exceeds in quantity that of secular verse and it appears much earlier. The thirteenth and fourteenth centuries afford many specimens. That many were written in this period is clear from the number which

quality of some types of carols upon a variety of narrative themes, or situation themes, and the type of ballad is reached which emerges in such abundance in the later sixteenth and earlier seventeenth centuries. The early Tudor period was one of great musical impulse, and the singing of ballads to melodies might then have won in favor over the older recital. Be this as it may, it is in the sixteenth century that the ballad texts which remain to us¹⁴ first assume the lyrical refrains that both the religious and the older secular carols exhibited earlier. The Sloane manuscript of the middle of the fifteenth century is the richest in ballads or ballad-like pieces before the Percy manuscript, and it contains mainly religious and moral songs, three in Latin, nearly one hundred with Latin refrains, and numerous Christmas carols. The earliest approaches to the song manner of ballads which remain to us are ecclesiastical.

There is lyrical or structural repetition in the ballad manner in the early fourteenth-century *Song of the Incarnation*:—¹⁵

I syng of a mayden that is makeles;
Kyng of alle kynges to here sone che ches.

he cam also styлле ther his moder was,
as dew in aprylle that fallyt on the gras.

yet remain to us. Before the thirteenth century, most religious lyrics were in Latin.

¹⁴ With the possible exception of *Robin and Gandeleyne*. I have not been able to see the Harvard doctorate thesis of J. H. Boynton, *Studies in the English Ballad Refrain, with a Collection of Ballad and Early Song Refrains* (1897), for the thesis remained unpublished.

¹⁵ From the Sloane MS. 2593. And compare *A Song of Joseph and Mary* in a manuscript of the Advocate's Library, Edinburgh, dated 1372, first printed by Professor Carleton F. Brown, *Selections from Old and Middle English* (1918); also *Lamentacio Dolorosa* and *Lullaby to the Infant Jesus*, first printed (from the same manuscript) by Professor Brown.

he cam also styлле to his moderes bowr
as dew in aprille that fallyt on the flour.

he cam also styлле ther his moder lay,
as dew in aprille that fallyt on the spray.

moder & maydyn was neuer non but che;
wel may swych a lady godes moder be.

There is something of the lyrical quality of the ballads
in—¹⁶

Adam lay y-boundyn, boundyn in a bond
fowr thousand wynter thowt he not to long
and all was for an appil, an appil that he took. . . .

and in carols like "A new yer, a new yer, a chyld was i-born," and in many others. And surely there are close ballad affinities to be found in a song like this, written down in the reign of Henry VIII:—¹⁷

Lully lulle

The faucon hath stolen my make away.

1. He bare him up, he bare him down,
He bare him into an orchard brown. *Lully, etc.*
2. In that orchard there was an hall,
Which was hanged with purpill and pall. *Lully, etc.*
3. And in that hall there was a bed,
It was hanged with gold so red. *Lully, etc.*
4. And in that bed there lith a knight,
His woundes bleding day and night. *Lully, etc.*

¹⁶ Bernhard Fehr, *Die Lieder der HS. Sloane 2593, Archiv*, vol. CIX, p. 51. Compare also some of the short religious pieces edited by Furnivall, E. E. T. S., vol. xv (1866), as "Christ Comes," p. 259, from the Harleian ms. 7322.

¹⁷ MS. Balliol 354. *Richard Hill's Commonplace Book*, E. E. T. S., Extra Series 101 (1907). This book contains many sacred songs and carols and many moral didactic and historical pieces and a few worldly and humorous pieces. It abounds in approaches to the ballad manner.

5. By that bedside kneleth a may,
And she wepeth both night and day. *Lully*, etc.

6. And by that bed side there stondeth a stone,
Corpus Christi wreten there on. *Lully*, etc.

(*Lully lulley, lully lulley*
The faucon hath borne my make away.)

This song with a burden like a ballad, or like that of a Christmas carol, was interpreted by Professor Flügel as the story of Christ's Passion, and his interpretation was borne out by a discovery of a modern traditional carol by F. Sidgwick.¹⁸ The song is a religious song. The tendency in criticism has been to associate the ballads with older heroic poetry or with romance, or with dance songs; but comparison will show that, in the texts earliest to appear, a closer connection in lyrical quality and in the use of refrains and repetition is afforded by the religious lyrics. The closest approaches which one finds to the ballad manner are the religious pieces like those in the Sloane and the Hill manuscripts.

Lyrical narratives in couplet and quatrain form are admitted as ballads. If the three-line carol stave — which dropped from use because a less suitable form for narrative verse¹⁹ — were recognized also, such pieces as the following narrative carol²⁰ might be termed ballads. Both the couplet and the carol stave had wide lyrical popularity earlier than the quatrain.

¹⁸ See *Notes and Queries*, 1905. Christ is referred to again and again as a "knight" in many religious songs from the *Love Rune* of Thomas de Hales onward.

¹⁹ The iteration of triple rhyme brings monotony and checks the speed of the narrative. Just as with the ballad, so with the popular hymn stanza, the three-line form was replaced by the quatrain.

²⁰ MS. Balliol 354. *Richard Hill's Commonplace Book*. Ed. Dyboski, E. E. T. S., Extra Series, 101 (1907), p. 1.

Owt of the east a sterre shon bright
 For to shew thre kingis light,
 Which had ferre traveled day & nyght
 To seke that lord that all hath sent.

Therof hard kyng Herode anon,
 That III kingis shuld cum thorow his regyon,
 To seke a child that pere had non,
 And after them sone he sent.

Kyng Herode cried to them on hye:
 "Ye go to seke a child truly;
 Go forth & cum agayn me by,
 & tell me wher that he is lent."

Forth they went by the sterres leme,
 Till they com to mery Bethlehem;
 Ther they fond that swet barn-teme
 That sith for vs his blode hath spent.

Balthasar kneled first a down
 & said: "Hayll, Kyng, most of renown,
 And of all kyngis thou berist the crown,
 Therfor with gold I the present."

Melchior kneled down in that stede
 & said: "Hayll, Lord, in they pryest-hede.
 Receyve ensence to thy manhede,
 I brynge it with a good entent."

Jasper kneled down in that stede
 & said: "Hayll, Lord, in thy knyghthede,
 I offer the myrre to thy godhede,
 For thou art he that all hath sent."

Now lordis & ladys in riche aray,
 Lyfte vp your hartis vpon this day,
 & ever to God lett vs pray,
 That on the rode was rent.

The following from the Hill manuscript²¹ is not included or mentioned by Professor Child, yet, if instead of being narrated in the first person like a few of the ballads

²¹ Ed. Dyboski, E. E. T. S., 101, p. 40.

it were narrated in the third, like most of them, and if it were in couplet or in the more usual quatrain form instead of in monorhyme quatrains, who would hesitate to classify it as a ballad? It is clearly akin to the *Judas* which is so classified.

"O my harte is wo!" Mary she sayd so,
 "For to se my dere son dye; & sonnes haue I no mo."

"Whan that my swete son was XXX^{ti} wynter old,
 Than the traytor Judas waxed very bold;
 For XXX^{ti} platys of money, his master he had sold;
 But whan I it wist, lord my hart was cold.
 O, my hart is woo!" [Mary, she sayd so,
 "For to se my dere son dye; & sonnes haue I no mo."]

"Vpon Shere Thursday than truly it was,
 On my sonnes deth that Judas did on passe;
 Many were the fals Jewes that folowed hym by trace,
 & ther, beffore them all, he kyssed my sonnes face.
 O, my hart is wo!" [Mary, she sayd so,
 "For to se my dere son dye; & sonnes haue I no mo."]

"My son, beffore Pilat browght was he;
 & Peter said III tymes he knew hym not perde.
 Pylat said vnto the Jewes: 'What say ye?'
 Than they cried with on voys: 'Crucifyge!'
 O, my hart is woo!" [Mary, she sayd so,
 "For to se my dere son dye; & sonnes haue I no mo."]

"On Good Friday at the mownt of Caluary
 My son was don on the crosse, nayled with naylis III,
 Of all the frendis that he had, neuer on could he see,
 But jentill the evangelist, that still stode hym by.
 O, my hart is woo!" [Mary, she sayd so,
 "For to se my dere son dye; & sonnes haue I no mo."]

"Though I were sorowfull, no man haue at yt wonder;
 for howge was the erth-quak, horyble was the thonder;
 I loked on my swet son on the cross that stod vnder;
 Than cam Lungeus with a spere & clift his hart in sonder.
 O, my hart is woo!" [Mary, she sayd so,
 "For to se my dere son dye; & sonnes haue I no mo."]

Its relation to the *Judas* is seen when the two are read side by side. The latter opens:—

Hit wes upon a Scerethorsday that vre louerd aros;
Ful milde were the wordes he spec to Iudas.

"Iudas, thou most to Iurselem, oure mete for to bugge;
Thritti platen of seluer thou bere up othi ruggi. . ."

It is a somewhat arbitrary distinction which admits the second piece as a ballad and denies to the more lyrical one such classification. The pieces might well have emerged from the same types of authorship and audience. The thirteenth-century ballad of *The Twelfth Night* in the same Trinity College manuscript and in the same handwriting as the *Judas*, but in more elaborate stanza form, has already been mentioned. It opens:—

Wolle ye iheren of twelte day, wou the present was ibroust.
In to betlem ther iesus lay, ther thre kinges him habbet isoust.
a sterre wiset hem the wey, suc nas neuer non iwroust,
ne werede he nouthor fou ne grey, the louerd that us alle hauet
iwroust.

It seems difficult to believe that such religious pieces as the *Judas* and the *St. Stephen and Herod* represent a type to be developed by the addition of narrative from the *secular* carol or dance song, as suggested by Professor Ker.²² They owe much to religious songs. Perhaps if we note that refrains of both types, of secular dance songs and of religious songs, precede the appearance of refrains in the English and Scottish ballads (these appear mostly in the late sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries); if we recognize as most essential in the ballads a narrative element to be presented in the manner of the religious pieces; and if we impose the somewhat arbitrary condition of

²² *English Literature: Mediæval* (1912). Home University Library edition, p. 159.

couplet or quatrain form, barring the three-line carol stave, quatrain monorhyme, and related forms, we are on fairly safe ground. Certainly it seems quite unnecessary to retain the hypothesis of connection with dance-song origin, whether aristocratic, like the secular *carols* of Chaucer's time, or of the folk. Behind the earliest ballad texts which remain to us one finds no traces of affiliation with secular dance songs.

The handling of the refrain is striking in the following piece, also from the Hill manuscript, which, except for its brevity and for our traditional rejection of narratives in carol-stave form, we should classify as a ballad.²³

THE STONING OF ST. STEPHEN

Whan seynt Stevyn was at Jeruzalem,
 Godis lawes he loved to lerne;
 That made the Jewes to cry so clere & clen,
 Lapidaverunt Stephanum,
 Nowe syng we both all & sum:
 Lapidauerunt Stephanum.

The Jewes that were both false & fell,
 Agaynst seynt Stephyn they were cruell,
 Hym to sle they made gret yell,
 & lapidaverunt Stephanum
 Nowe syng we, etc.

They pullid hym with-owt the town,
 & then he mekely kneled down,
 While the Jewes crakkyd his crown,
 Quia lapidaverunt Stephanum.
 Nowe syng we, etc.

Gret stones & bones at hym they caste,
 Veynes & bones of hym they braste,
 & they killed hym at the laste,
 Quia lapidaverunt Stephanum.
 Nowe syng we, etc.

²³ E. E. T. S., 101 (1907), p. 32. *The Stoning of St. Stephen* is not mentioned by Professor Child. Both the St. Stephen pieces are probably to be classed as St. Stephen day songs or carols.

Pray we all that now be here,
 Vnto seynt Stephyn, that marter clere,
 To save vs all from the fendis fere.
 Lapidauerunt Stephanum.
 Nowe syng we, etc.

It arrays itself alongside *St. Stephen and Herod*. The two lyrics, one adjudged to be a ballad, the other not to be one, are at least not so different in type as to make necessary the hypothesis of an utterly different mode of origin for the second. *The Stoning of St. Stephen* is the more lyrical of the two narratives and, unlike the earlier piece, it is provided with a refrain.

The following affords yet another illustration of an ecclesiastical, or semi-ecclesiastical, narrative song, from the period when Child ballads were not yet abundant.²⁴

THE MURDER OF THOMAS A BEKET

Lystyn, lordyngis both gret & small,
 I will you tell a wonder tale,
 Howe holy chirch was browght in bale
 Cum magna iniuria.

A, a, a, a nunc gaudet ecclesia.

The grettest clark in this londe,
 Thomas of Canturbury, I vnderstonde,
 Slayn he was with wykyd honde,
 Malorum potencia.

A, a, a, a nunc gaudet ecclesia.

The knyghtis were sent from Harry the kyng,
 That day they dide a wykid thyng,
 Wykyd men, with-owt lessyng,
 Per regis imperia.

A, a, a, a nunc gaudet ecclesia.

They sowght the bisshop all a-bowt,
 With-in his place, and with-owt,
 Of Jhesu Crist they had no dowght
 Per sua malicia.

A, a, a, a nunc gaudet ecclesia.

²⁴ Balliol MS. 354. The triple rhyme stanza of these ecclesiastical ballads appears also in Miracle plays, e. g., the Chester *Noah's Flood*.

They opened ther mowthes wonderly wide,
& spake to hym with myche pryde:

"Traytor, here thow shalt abide,
Ferens mortis tedia."

A, a, a, a nunc gaudet ecclesia.

Beffore the auter he kneled down,
& than they pared his crown,
& stered his braynes vp so down,
Optans celi gawdia.

A, a, a, a nunc gaudet ecclesia.

Recognition of song-narratives in carol stave, as well as those in couplet and quatrain form, would admit this piece also among ballads.

III

BALLADS AND CLERICALS

Clericals are known to have composed and sung religious lyrics; but an alternative hypothesis from that of direct ecclesiastical creation is that a lyric type successfully developed by minstrels, namely the song-story—existing alongside the songs of eulogy, of derision, the love songs, and other matter which they had in stock for entertainment—was adopted and made use of for its own ends by the church. There would be abundant parallels for such a taking over. Ritson ²⁵ speaks of the utilization of popular airs by the Methodists of his day, much as they had been utilized earlier by the Puritans. The practice was not unknown to the evangelists Moody and Sankey and is not extinct among revivalists of the present time. *Sumer is i-cumen in* of the thirteenth century perhaps owes its preservation to the religious words written below the secular ones in the manuscript which has come down to us, and

²⁵ *Dissertation on Ancient Songs and Music*, prefixed to *Ancient Songs and Ballads*. Vol. I (ed. of 1829), p. lxxviii.

there are other examples in old manuscripts of religious adaptation of secular lyrics. To find illustration farther back, Ealdhelm is described by William of Malmesbury²⁶ as sometimes standing in gleeman's garb on a bridge and inserting words of scriptural content into his lighter songs—an early example of the connection between the church and songs for the common folk. After the Conquest, with the coming of a new type of song, the employment of the short recited tale or of the sung story for popularizing religious material might well have produced pieces like the thirteenth-century *Judas* or the later *St. Stephen and Herod* or *Inter Diabolus et Virgo*. If the modes of the church were often utilized for secular poetry, the contrary tendency, the adoption of what was popular by the church, is also marked. The great days of the minstrels were the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, and the days of their break-up the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries. Warton thought that "some of our greater monasteries kept minstrels of their own in regular pay."²⁷ The class of minstrels indicated by Thomas de Cabham, a thirteenth-century archbishop of Canterbury, as to be tolerated while other classes deserved to be condemned, was the class which sang the deeds of princes and the lives of saints.²⁸ When minstrels had ecclesiastical audiences, re-

²⁶ *De Gestis Pontificum Anglorum*. Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland during the Middle Ages. Published under the direction of the Master of the Rolls, 1858-99, p. 336.

²⁷ There are many records of payments to minstrels extant in account books of Durham Priory, from the thirteenth century onward, and from Maxtoke and Thetford Priors from the fifteenth century.

²⁸ *Penitential*, printed by B. Hauréau, *Notices et Extraits de Manuscrits*, xxiv, ii, 284, from *Bib. Nat. Lat.* 3218 and 3529. Sunt autem alii, qui dicuntur ioculatores, qui cantant gesta principum et vitam sanctorum, et faciunt solatia hominibus vel in aegritudinibus

ligious matter or national or heroic matter might come from them appropriately. A testimony remains concerning the songs of a minstrel Herbert before the prior of St. Swithin's when he entertained his bishop at Winchester in the fourteenth century (1338), and they were songs of Colbrand (Guy of Warwick) and of the deliverance by miracle of Queen Emma.²⁹ From the fifteenth century is a record of a song of the early Christian legend of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus given at an Epiphany entertainment at Bicester in 1432.³⁰ These may not have been ballads, but they fall in the ballad period and their material is of the type, the deeds of princes and the lives of saints and martyrs, which was countenanced by de Cabham.

A piece of first-hand evidence concerning the value of the harper and his harp to a discriminating prelate is related by Robert Manning of Brunne in an account of Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln, who died in 1253. Bishop Grosseteste wrote in English as well as Latin, translating the allegorical *Castel of Love* into English for the sake of the ignorant. He recognized that the common people had to be reached in their own tongue. Robert Manning's testimony is as follows:³¹

Y shall you tell as I have herd
Of the bysshop seynt Roberd,
His toname is Grosteste
Of Lyncolne, so seyth the geste,
He lovede moche to here the harpe,
For mans witte yt makyth sharpe.

suis vel in angustiis . . . et non faciunt etc. . . . Si autem non faciunt talia, sed cantant in instrumentis suis gesta principum et alia talia utilia ut faciant solatia hominibus, sicut supradictum est, bene possunt sustineri tales, sicut ait Alexander papa.

²⁹ See Warton, *History of English Poetry*, ed. of 1840, pp. 81, 82.

³⁰ Kennet, *Parochial Antiquities* (1695), ed. of 1818.

³¹ *Handlyng Synne*, ed. F. J. Furnivall, E. E. T. S., 119.

Next hys chamber, beside hys study,
 Hys harper's chamber was fast therby.
 Many tymes, by nightes and dayes,
 He hadde solace of notes and layes,
 One askede hem onys resun why
 He hadde delyte in mynstrelsy?
 He answerde hym on thys manere
 Why he helde the harper so dere.
 The vertu of the harp, thurgh skyle and ryght
 Wyll destrye the fendys myght;
 And to the cros by gode skylle
 Ys the harp lykened weyl . . .
 Tharefore, gode men, ye shall lere
 When ye any gleman here,
 To worshepe God at your power,
 As Davyd seyth in the sauter.
 Yn harpe, yn tabour, and symphan gle
 Worship God in trumpes and sautre:
 Yn cordes, yn organes, and belles ringyng,
 Yn all these worship the hevene kyng.
 Yf ye do thus, y sey hardly,
 Ye mow here youre mynstralsy.

The alternative possibilities (granting that religious ballads are an early type) are: that short narrative lyrics on ecclesiastical themes emerged directly from clericals and that the type was later secularized; or that they emerged from the minstrels, and ecclesiastics availed themselves of the type; or that minstrels were solely responsible for the early religious ballads, composing them for audiences for whom they were especially suitable. But when lingering over these hypotheses, one is inclined to give the church a greater share of responsibility for the earliest ballads than the third hypothesis assumes.

If the earliest mediæval ballads, meaning by ballads lyrical stories of the type collected by Professor Child, were contemporaneously on both religious and heroic subjects, it is chance, or else the interest of ecclesiastics, that has preserved for us specimens of the one type and not of

the other. If the heroic type, chronicle or legendary, was as early as the religious, early examples have not remained to show it. Against the hypothesis of contemporaneity is the circumstance that songs of all other kinds, minstrel and popular, satires, eulogies of princes and heroes, songs of victories, love songs, songs of disparagement or derision, humorous songs, drinking songs, and the like, have descended to us from the Middle Ages. If ballads of the heroic type existed early, they should have appeared at least as early as the thirteenth century. The wish to impress sacred story may well have afforded the impulse to present such narratives in a short lyrical way, and the presence of narrative is the fundamental *differentia*, the quality distinguishing it from other folk-song, of the ballad as a lyric type.

A refrain is not present in the earliest ballad texts nor in the fifteenth-century ballads,³² including the Robin Hood pieces. Refrains do not appear in ballads until the sixteenth century, though they are frequent in early lyrics of other types. Moreover, they are sufficiently accounted for in the proportion of ballads in which they are present (not more than a fourth) by the fact that the ballads were sung. Hymns and carols and many love songs have refrains, and the ballad refrains were handled on the whole in their way. They do not resemble the fundamental iterative lines of dance songs, around which the latter songs as a class are built.³³ Ballad refrains are added from the outside and are not stable even for the same text, while the

³² Unless in *Robin and Gandeleyne*. If a refrain is present in this ballad it is extraneous to the stanza structure, not part of it. The stanzas of the ballad so vary in form and length as to make them seem more suitable for recital than for singing.

³³ See "The Ballad and the Dance," *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, vol. XXXIV, p. 360.

refrain is the most identifying feature of the average traditional dance song. It is well established that the earliest mediaeval dance songs were not ballads; though the latter came to be used occasionally as dance songs, consistently as such in Denmark. The fundamental characteristic of ballads, the point of departure for their differentiation as a lyric type, would be their presentation of characters and story in a lyrical way, suitable for short recital or for song. It would not be the presence of a refrain, nor of incremental repetition, nor parallelism of line structure; for both are often absent from ballads and often present in other types of folk-song. A "situation" mode of narration is not perhaps fundamental, but such a mode would be natural in a lyric to be recited dramatically like the *Judas* perhaps, or like *St. Stephen and Herod*; or it might be developed, like repetition and parallelism, in traditional preservation. Ballad creation has for its motivating impulse the circumstance that characters and their story are to be brought before hearers, not in a narrative to be read, but briefly and memorably and dramatically in a recitational or song way. Only stories which lend themselves well to such handling are eligible material.

It is possible that very widespread diffusion for the ballads, especially for the secular ballads, their composition in quantity and their popular currency, may have come later than is generally assumed. They cannot have been very abundant when the makers of the Sloane ms. 2593 and the Balliol ms. 354 made their collections. These men obviously had a taste for popular verse, yet compared to their display of related types of folk-verse, of approaches to ballads, their showing of ballads proper is meager. Had many ballads of the Child type been in general circulation in Southern England before the Elizabethan period, had this type of verse been so recognized, so distinctive and

current as it was in the later sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries, the makers of these, like the makers of later manuscript books, might have been expected to give proportionate space to ballads in their pages.

The number of early religious ballads remaining is somewhat slender, too slender for a very solid structure to be based upon them; but their evidence is the most authentic that we have. The subject of ballad origins may well be re-examined from the angle of approach which these, our earliest ballad texts, suggest. The species next to fix attention upon itself is the outlaw ballad of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries; but the outlaw ballads come too late for dependable significance. Some were plainly to be recited; ³⁴ in general they lack the refrain element; and they afford no help in explaining the origin of the lyrical species. The suggestion which relates the early ballads to the religious, not the secular, carols as a type of folk-song, which assumes ecclesiastical emergence for the ballads prior to their minstrel popularity, or else early adoption by ecclesiastics of a new minstrel lyric type, has the distinction of novelty, whether or not it seem likely. And it is based on fact, not conjecture. The possibility that ballad literature began with clericals deserves to be taken into account, alongside the hypotheses of ballad origin which have been brought forward in the past.

Few having knowledge of the shifting types and styles of popular song would maintain that the folk-songs, the dance songs, if you will, of the Anglo-Saxons before the Norman Conquest were of the structure and type of the Child ballads. The patterns which these exhibit arose later. Nor were the old heroic lyrics of the Germanic

³⁴ See the testimony concerning "robene hude and litil ihone" and the tale of the "zong tamlene" listed in *The Complaynt of Scotland*, 1549. Edited by J. A. H. Murray, E. E. T. S. (1872), vol. I, p. 63.

peoples, whether narratives or not, of the type of the Child ballads. In the hypothesis that mediæval ballad literature emerged under the influence of clericals, or in something like it, may perhaps be found the explanation best satisfying all the conditions. Examination is desirable, from this angle of approach, of the early lyrical verse of other leading European peoples. The ballad documents of Continental literatures are no earlier than the English, if so early; but the more the available evidence, the better for the investigator. A scrutiny of them might lend support to the suggestions of this paper, or it might contradict them, or it might bring light from some unexpected source.

LOUISE POUND.

X.—CHAUCER'S REEVE AND MILLER

My recent article, *The Secret of Chaucer's Pardoner*,¹ was the first of a series of studies advanced in support of the general thesis that Chaucer, in his choice of physical peculiarities that would fittingly correspond to the characters of his Canterbury Pilgrims, made use of, or at least was influenced by, the rules and regulations laid down in the universally popular Physiognomies of his time. More specifically, I attempted to show that the *Pardoner* is a typical example of what the physiognomists would call a *eunuchus ex nativitate*. The present article demonstrates that Chaucer's Reeve and Miller, in the exact correspondence of their respective personal appearances and characters, are also "scientifically" correct according to the specifications of physiognomical lore, and that the quarrel between these traditional and professional enemies cannot properly be understood unless scanned from the medieval point of view.

Though the description of the Reeve's person is meager enough, it doubtless sufficed to indicate to the well-informed men and women of the fourteenth century everything that Chaucer wanted to say in regard to the Reeve's character:

The Reve was a sclendre colerik man,
His berd was shave as ny as ever he can,
His heer was by his eres round y-shorn,
His top was dokked lyk a preest biforn.
Ful longe were his legges, and ful lene,
Y-lyk a staf, there was no calf y-sene.²

¹ *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, XVIII, pp. 593 ff.

² *Oxford Chaucer*, ed. W. W. Skeat, *O. T.*, A, 587. All other quotations from Chaucer in this paper are taken from this edition.

Now, just what did these few items of personal appearance, perhaps only amusing to modern readers, signify to the medieval mind? The Reeve's custom of shaving his beard and of wearing his hair closely cropped need not detain us; it merely indicated in Middle English times a man of low caste or, more especially, an obedient and humble servant.³ This ostentatious display of humility affected by the Reeve was doubtless a part of his general programme of hoodwinking his young lord and of privately increasing the store of his own goods; he could so "plesen subtilly" that, in addition to what he stole, he had the confidence and thanks of his lord, together with gifts of coats and hoods besides. Everybody in Chaucer's time knew all about the four "complexciouns" of men, so that the artist thought it necessary to suggest only two characteristics of the "colerik" man in his description of the Reeve. The Middle English *Secreta Secretorum*, some version of which Chaucer certainly knew, has this to say: "The colerike (man) by kynde he sholde be lene of body, his body is lyght and drye, and he shal be Sumwhat rogh; and lyght to wrethe and lyght to Peyse; of sharpe witt, wyse and of good memorie, a greete entremyttere . . . ; he loughy hasty wengeaunce; Desyrous of company of women moore than hym nedyth."⁴ A large part of the delineation of the Reeve's character, in the General Prologue, is taken up with illustrative material bearing

³ For a full discussion of the significance of this custom, *vide* W. C. Curry, *The Middle English Ideal of Personal Beauty*, pp. 36, 30.

⁴ *Secreta Secretorum*, ed. Robert Steele, EETS, E. S. LXXIV, p. 220. With this should be compared another translation by Lydgate and Burgh, *Secrees of Old Philisoffres*, ed. R. Steele, EETS, E. S. LXVI, p. 104. Chaucer alludes to "the secree of secrees" (*C. T.*, G, 1447) and, as I shall show, is familiar with the material contained in the physiognomical part of it at least, Steele and Lounsbury to the contrary.

out the fact that he is of "a sharpe witt, wyse and of good memorie." He understands the art of husbandry; the raising of cattle, chickens, poultry, and swine is a congenial and profitable occupation; and, it is said, he could so tamper with the annual reports made to his lord that, in spite of his rascality, no man might bring him in arrears. Many of the under-servants knew that he was a thief, of course, but he was so "hasty" of his "wengeaunce" that they were discreetly silent:

They were adrad of him as of the deeth (A, 595).

The Reeve was a "colerik" man, and therefore a cunning, crafty rascal. So Chaucer presents him in the General Prologue.

When we come to the Reeve's Prologue, however, Oswald the Carpenter seems to be quite another man; at any rate the emphasis is there placed on other, different elements of his character. Without further preparation, apparently, than the suggestion in the General Prologue that "*in his youth*" he learned a good trade, we suddenly find that he is an old man, easily angered and as easily appeased, indulging in certain preachments on old age and the follies of youth to the disgust of the Host (A, 3865). He is here revealed in his true colors: he is a lecher of the worst type, a churl, a pitiful example of the burnt-out body in which there still lives the concupiscent mind. Youth is past; his hairs are white with age, or perhaps from illicit association with women⁵; he is like rotten fruit. Yet he still has a "coltes tooth," and though the power to gratify his physical desires is gone, he still hops to folly while the world pipes. And, worst of all, he shamelessly boasts of it:

⁵ Richard Saunders, *Physiognomie and Chiromancie*, London, 1671, p. 189.

For in oure wil there stiketh ever a nayl,
 To have an hoor heed and grene tayl,
 As hath a leek (*C. T.*, A, 3878 ff.).

This unexpected change in the character of the Reeve has, until recently, seemed to me a serious blemish upon the artistic workmanship of Chaucer; Oswald, an aged reprobate reveling in the memories of the follies committed in his youth and prime, seems to come into direct conflict with the delightfully cunning and wide-awake Reeve of the General Prologue. But Chaucer is always the conscious artist. Rightly understood, he never leaves out anything that might be considered essential to the unity and consistency of his characterizations. In the General Prologue—just where it should be!—there is the emphatic statement that the Reeve has exceedingly small legs—and there is a reason why.

I must call attention to the fact that whenever Chaucer takes the trouble to impress upon the reader's notice special physical peculiarities of his Pilgrims, we may rest assured that he means for them to be straightway interpreted in terms of character. What, then, should the Reeve's small legs signify? The physiognomists do not leave us in doubt. Aristotle himself affirms⁶ that "quicunque crura subtilia nervosa habent, luxuriosi, referuntur ad aves." Polemon, the greatest and probably the father of most of the medieval physiognomists, is still more explicit in his discussion, "De signis crurum":⁷

⁶ Aristotle's *Physiognomonika*, Bartholomaei de Messana interpretatio Latina, ed. R. Foerster in *Scriptores Physiognomonicus*, I, p. 55.

⁷ Polemonis de physiognomonia liber Arabice et Latine, ed. Georgius Hoffman, in *Scrip. Physiog.*, Foerster, p. 204. This is Antonius Polemo Laodicensis, the celebrated rhetorician and historian who flourished under Trajan and Hadrian and who died about 144 A. D. Cf. Foerster, *op. cit.*, I, pp. lxxiv ff. His *Physiognomon* is also edited by I. G. F. Franzius in *Scriptores physiognomoniae veteres*, 1780, pp. 209 ff.

"Ac si praeterea nervi eorum adparet, omne de iis iudicium ad multum cupidinem et scorationem refertur." An anonymous author of the eleventh century—and a follower of Polemon—is of a like opinion:⁸ "Libidinosi et intemperantes libidinum ita sunt; color albus . . . crura tenuia nervis intenta atque hispida"; and the *Secreta Secretorum* says that "tho men whyche haue smale legges and synnowy bene luchrus" (p. 226). When we remember, moreover, that one of the chief characteristics of the "colerik" man is that he is "Desyrous of the company of women moore than hym nedyth," it is apparent that Chaucer has made in the General Prologue ample preparation for the revelations which come in the Reeve's Prologue. His personal appearance betrays the Reeve to any ordinary observer—with the medieval point of view—and his later confession need cause no surprise.

The Miller, indeed, takes his measure immediately. As Professor F. Tupper has already shown, the Miller and the Reeve are traditional and professional enemies;⁹ it is even possible that they may have met before. At any rate, when the drunken Miller rises to a point of personal privilege and demands that he be permitted to "quyte the Knightes tale" with a story of a cuckold carpenter and a faithless wife, the Reeve—who is also a "wel good wrighte" (A, 614)—recognizes that he is about to be attacked and voices a protest:

stint thy clappe,
Lat be thy dronken harlotrye.
It is a sinne and eek a greet folye

⁸ Anonymi de physiognomonia liber Latinus, *Scrip. Physiog.*, Foerster, II, p. 133. The editor collates fifteen codices of this version. Cf. I, pp. cxlvi.

⁹ *The Quarrels of the Canterbury Pilgrims*, *Jour. Eng. and Germ. Philol.*, XIV, pp. 265.

To apeiren any man, or him diffame,
And eek to bringen wyves in swich fame (*C. T.*, A, 3145).

The battle is on! The Miller's Tale is not so much an attack upon carpenters as a class as it is a direct thrust at this particular Reeve. And the ribald Miller has already divined the weak spot in the *amour propre* of his ancient enemy; namely, his old age. Professor Tupper says: "The obvious parallel between the Reeve and the victim of the Miller's Tale lies not in their common trade . . . but in their like cuckoldry, the traditional fate of eld mated with youth. The story . . . is eminently successful as a fabliau of the futile jealousy of age."¹⁰ In other words, the Miller in his description of the carpenter of the Tale is drawing material from his personal observations of the Reeve. In like manner, as we shall see later, the Reeve retaliates by attributing to the miller of *his* story personal characteristics which his enemy possessed, but which Chaucer failed to put into the picture of his Miller drawn in the General Prologue. Neither the Reeve nor the Miller, therefore, is complete without reference to his prototype. Since the whole of the Miller's Tale is a shaft aimed at the old age of the Reeve, we are prepared, as we should not otherwise have been, for the sermon which the latter preaches in the Prologue to the Reeve's Tale. He is there angered that his feeble condition should have been held up to the ridicule of the company in such a manner; perhaps he is indeed a cuckold. At least he feels that he must defend himself, and in doing so he is betrayed into revealing his life of harlotry and into boasting that, though his hair is gray, he is still not so impotent and so worn out in doing "Venus workes" as he may seem. He still has a "grene tayl"; his "coltes

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 269.

tooth" is yet to be shed (*C. T.*, A, 3865 ff.). He is guilty of three, at least, of the four Sins which he says "longen un-to elde": boasting, covetousness, and anger.

The mildness of his anger, however, is somewhat surprising when we remember that the under-servants at home are as afraid of him as of the pestilence. Chaucer says that most of the company laughed at the Miller's story, and that no man found it unbearably obscene except Oswald:

A litel ire is in his herte y-laft,
He gan to grucche and blamed it a lyte (A, 3862 f.).

As a matter of fact, Oswald is what the physiognomists list as a timid man. Aristotle writes: "Signa timidi; pili molles . . . extrema corporis inbecillia et crura parva, manus longae et subtiles, lumbi autem parvi et inbecilles,"¹¹ and further affirms: "Signa pusillanimi; parvorum membrorum et parvorum articulorum, macer et parvorum oculorum."¹² The anonymous author mentioned above also gives as one of the signs of a timid man, "cruribus tenuibus,"¹³ while the *Secreta Secretorum* merely declares that "longe leggis" indicate a man of "ille Complexioun" (p. 233). While the Reeve may rule with a tyrannical hand the underlings at home, he is, as his small legs indicate, a coward at heart; he is especially afraid of the blustering, bragging Miller, who rides with his bagpipe at the head of the "route" (A, 566). Consequently he withdraws himself from the other Pilgrims and, as Chaucer says,

And ever he rood the hinderest of our route (A, 622).

Forced to come into the very presence of his burly enemy,

¹¹ *Op. cit.*, *Scrip. Physiog.*, Foerster, I, p. 29.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 37.

¹³ *Op. cit.*, Foerster, II, p. 120.

however, the Reeve discreetly represses his anger; he has a "litel ire" in his heart and blames the Miller's Tale only a "lyte." He could, if he wanted to speak of ribaldry, tell a story about a certain miller—but he is too old; "me list not pley for age" (A, 3865). And partly because his pride has been hurt, as we have seen already, but mostly because he is afraid of the Miller, Oswald launches forth into a sermon on old age in general and on his own sad case in particular. Under the circumstances, it is a neat and effective subterfuge. But upon being rallied by the Host, he allows his indignation to get the better part of prudence; he decides that, after all, he *will* tell "right in his cherles termes" a story about a proud miller called "deynous Simkin."

Nothing could be more natural than that the Reeve, who has just expressed the fervent wish that the Miller's neck might be broken (A, 3918), should give in the description of the unfortunate hero of his Tale items of character and personal appearance taken directly from the man who stands before him. Just as the Carpenter of the Miller's Tale is none other than the Reeve himself, so far as age and cuckoldry are concerned, so the character and person of Simkin, in the first eighteen lines of the Reeve's Tale, are in reality those of the Miller. Both, it will be observed, are excellent wrestlers, proud boasters and swaggerers, and consummate harlots; both reap a rich harvest from the practice of bold theft. The Miller, therefore, as we shall discuss him, is a composite of Simkin and of Chaucer's Canterbury Pilgrim. Of him, as of Simkin, may be said:

Round was his face, and camuse was his nose.
As piled as an ape was his skulle (A, 3935 f.).

And only when we consider these lines in connection with

the description in the General Prologue can we gain an accurate and full picture of the Miller:

The Miller was a stout carl, for the nones,
 Ful big he was of braun and eek of bones; . . .
 He was short-sholdered, brood, a thikke knarre,
 Ther nas no dore that he nolde heve of harre
 Or breke it, at a renning, with his heed.
 His berd as any sowe or fox was reed,
 And ther-to brood, as though it were a spade.
 Up-on the cop right of his nose he hade
 A werthe, and ther-on stood a tuft of heres,
 Reed as the bristles of a sowes eres;
 His nose-thirles blake were and wyde . . .
 His mouth as greet was as a greet forneys (A, 545 ff.).

To all of which must be added the fact that, in his duet with the Pardoner, he displays a deep bass voice (A, 672), which is otherwise called a "Pilates vois" (A, 3124).

In the above description I take "short-sholdered" to mean not only, as Professor Skeat suggests, "short in the forearms" (Cf. Glossary); it evidently has reference to the fact that the Miller's broad, knotty shoulders are square and high-upreared so that, his short bull-like neck scarcely appearing at all, the head seems to rest upon them. Of such a stocky figure, Aristotle says:¹⁴ "Invirecundi signa; . . . masculi scapularum sursum elevati, figura non recta, sed parum curva, in motibus acutus, rubeus corpore, color sanguineus, facies rotunda, pectus sursum tractum." Rasis, whom Chaucer certainly knew, also remarks:¹⁵ "Invirecundus est . . . cuius praeterea

¹⁴ *Op. cit.*, in *Scrip. Physiog.*, Foerster, I, p. 31.

¹⁵ Rasis physiognomoniae versio Latina a Gerardo Cremonensi facta, ed. in *Scrip. Physiog.*, Foerster, II, p. 176. This is the second Book of the *De Re Medicina* translated from the original Arabic of Abubecri Rasis (Mohammed Abou-Bekr Ibn-Zacaria), an eminent physician of the tenth century, born at Rey (Ragés), and died 923. Cf. *Biographie Universelle*, Michaud; T. Warton, *History of English Poetry*, 1774, p. 441; T. R. Lounsbury, *Studies in Chaucer*, II, p. 394.

spatulae elevatae sunt, motus festinus, color vero rufus, multum habens sanguinem, facies rotunda, thorax parumper gibbosus . . . est etiam multum loquax." Not only is a man of the Miller's build shameless, immodest, and loquacious, according to the physiognomies as in Chaucer, but he is apparently bold and easily angered. Says Aristotle:¹⁶ "Signa iracunda; . . . figura bene latus, animosus, subrufus, spatulae distantes et magnae et latae, extrema magna et fortia"; to which Rasis adds:¹⁷ "Audax est, cuius capilli sunt fortes et asperi et statura ipsius erecta est, ossa quoque fortia et extrema atque costae . . . pectus praeterea magnum et venter magnus ac spatulae magnae, collum quoque forte et crassum . . . ipse quoque est valde iracundus et semper iram conservens." Our anonymous author would say that the Miller might be "referred to the bull": "Bos animal est habens caput grande . . . os latum, nares latas, latera grandia . . . ad huius animalis speciem homines qui referuntur, erunt indociles, consilii egentes, loquendi et agendi ignavi . . . regi magis quam regere apti."¹⁸ Already it appears from these passages that a man of the Miller's figure and with his round face, sanguine complexion, and red, bristly beard, his short neck, great mouth, and broad nostrils may be pronounced upon sight a man easily angered, shameless, loquacious, and apt to stir up strife. So Chaucer presents his Miller:

Chaucer alludes to Rasis in the General Prologue (A, 432), placing him among the celebrated physicians whom the Doctour of Physik knew well.

¹⁶ *Op. cit.*, in *Scrip. Physiog.*, Foerster, I, p. 35. Cf. also the *Secreta Secretorum*, p. 224.

¹⁷ *Op. cit.*, in *Scrip. Physiog.*, Foerster, II, p. 173 f.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, Foerster, II, p. 138. A like opinion may be found in *Physiognomica & Chiromantica specialia*, a Rodolpho Goelenio, Marpurgi Cattorum, 1621, p. 29.

He was a janglere and a goliardeys,
And that was most of sinne and harlotryes (A, 560 f.).

We have already seen how, in his drunkenness, he thrusts himself forward immediately after the Knight to tell his Tale, and how he picks a quarrel with the Reeve.

But it is only by the study of these physical traits in detail that we are able to get the full significance of them in terms of character. Of short arms, such as the Miller has, the pseudo-Aristotelean *Secreti Secretorum* says:¹⁹ "si braccia brevia sunt, possessor eorum amicus mali (rixarum?), pusillanimus est"; this opinion is supported by a quotation presented by Foerster: "brevitas brachi et lacerti malam comprehensionem et malitiam morum significat."²⁰ Nor does the M. E. *Sec. Sec.* dissent: "Whan the shuldres bene moche vprerid, thei tokenyth orribill kynde and vntrouthe; . . . and whan the armes bene ful shorte thay tokenyth lowe of dyscorde" (p. 235). Nor must the short neck be left out of consideration in connection with the item "short-sholdered." Rasis is brief and to the point:²¹ "qui crassum habet collum durum ac forte, iracundus est et festinus"; to which may be added from the *Secreti Secretorum* (ms. Ph.):²² "qui vero habet collum breve valde, est callidus defraudator, astutus, et dolosus (or, from ms. S.) vorax est (or, from ms. s.) deceptor est." The ME. *Sec. Sec.* also has it that "who-so hath a neke ful grete, he is a fole and a gloton" (p. 235),

¹⁹ Physiognomoniae secreti secretorum pseudaristotelici versiones Latinae, ed. Foerster, *Scrip. Physiog.*, II, p. 214. These versions, or others based on them, are probably the sources of the Middle English *Secreta Secretorum*, the *Secrees of Old Philisoffres*, and much of the material of which Chaucer shows a knowledge.

²⁰ *Scrip. Physiog.*, I, p. xxxii. Cf. also the ME. *Sec. Sec.*, p. 227.

²¹ *Op. cit.*, in *Scrip. Physiog.*, Foerster, II, p. 170.

²² *Loc. cit.*, II, p. 211.

or still better that "An ouer shorte neke tokenyth a gyloure and a decyuoire" (p. 227).

This most unfortunate Miller has, moreover, a round face (probably fleshy, with puffed-out cheeks) covered with a red, bushy beard. Of such a face Aristotle says:²³ "Quicunque faciem carnosam habent, rathimi sunt, id est facile concupiscibiles"; Polemon affirms:²⁴ "Genarum caro si multa est, ebrietatem et ignaviam indicat"; the author of the *Secreti Secretorum* continues (MS. S):²⁵ "Carnosus in facie est impudens, ignarus, mendax (or, from MS. Ph.) est minus sapiens, importunus, (or from MS. S) grossae naturae est"; and the ME. *Sec. Sec.* has it that "who-so hath a face ouer fleshy and ouer grete, he is vnvyse, enuyous, a lyar" (p. 234), or still better, "Tho that haue grete visachys and fleschy bene dysposyd to concupyscence of fleschy lustes" (p. 228). This estimate of the Miller's character is borne out by the physiognomical significance of his red beard. As the ME. *Sec. Sec.* remarks, "Tho that bene rede men, bene Parceuyng and trechrus, and full of queyntise, i-liknyd to Foxis" (p. 229), which offers some explanation to Chaucer's description, "His berd as any sowe or fox was reed." As far back as the time of the *Proverbs of Alfred* this distrust of the red man, i. e., *rufus*, *subrufus*, is felt and expressed:²⁶

þe rede mon he is quede
for he wole þe þin iwil rede,
he is a cocher, þef and horeling,
Scolde, of wretchedome is king (702 ff.).

The form of the Miller's beard, "brood as though it were a spade," is also of considerable significance. Foerster

²³ *Op. cit.*, in *Scrip. Physiog.*, Foerster, I, p. 67.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, I, p. 232.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, II, p. 206.

²⁶ Cf. my dissertation, *ME. Ideal of Personal Beauty*, pp. 19 ff.

quotes: ²⁷ "barta lata formae quadratae indivisa ingenium et usui hominibus esse significat."

Professor Skeat's definition of "piled," in the description of the Miller's skull, "deprived of hair, very thin" (Cf. Gloss.), is entirely incorrect.²⁸ Rather Chaucer means to say that the hair of the Miller's head is thick (probably bristly) and especially that it comes far down over his wide, "villainous low" forehead. (Cf. the picture of the Miller from the Ellesmere ms.). It is just such a head and forehead as Giraldus Cambrensis attributes to the wicked Geoffrey, Archbishop of York: "Capite grosso. et tanquam simiam simulans usque ad cilia fere fronte pilosa."²⁹ This quotation explains quite clearly, it seems to me, the meaning of Chaucer's "piled as an ape." The anonymous author on physiognomy informs us that one of the characteristics of the "Homo animosus" is "ultima linea capillorum capitis deorsum demissa,"³⁰ and continues: "capilli densi imminentes fronti nimium ferum animum declarant."³¹ What he is trying to say, I think, is better expressed by a later writer, Richard Saunders—of whom more anon—in his discussion of the man with a depressed and low forehead: "For a man that is so," says he, "hath a low and abject soul, is fearful, surville . . . cowardly, and carryed away with many words of a great talker, for there is not much assurance in his words, yet he is overcome by the speech of the most simple man that

²⁷ Foerster, *op. cit.*, I, p. xxxi.

²⁸ Cf. *New Eng. Dict.*: piled, "covered with pile, hair, or fur." Lydgate's *De Guil.*, 1426, is quoted, "Off look and cher ryht monstrous, Piled and seynt as any katt, And moosy-heryd as a raat."

²⁹ Giraldus Cambrensis, *Opera*, Rolls Series, No. 21, ed. J. S. Brewer, IV, p. 240.

³⁰ *Op. cit.*, in *Scrip. Physiog.*, Foerster, II, p. 132.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

he stands in fear of." ³² From these indications we learn that, in spite of his enormous physical strength, his jangling and babbling, and for all his boasting, the Miller is still a bully, a coward at heart. For, it must be observed, when his blustering demand to be heard in the rôle of story-teller calls forth a display of considerable animus on the part of the Host (A, 3135), he is quick to acknowledge, with a show of weakening courage, that he is drunk (A, 3138); and when so slender a man as the Reeve protests against his telling a tale against a carpenter and a faithless wife, he hastens to mollify the irate little man with gentle assurances of his absolute faith in—or perhaps indifference to—the chastity of married women (A, 3151 ff.). He would not for the world cast reflections either upon the Reeve or upon any woman; why should "leve brother Oswald" be angry with him (A, 3157)! His braggardism receives a sharp and effective check. With respect to his strength, the Miller may indeed be "referred" to the bull; but with respect to his low forehead, he must be referred to the ape. And, as the anonymous author has it: "Simia est animal malignum, ridiculum, turpe"; ³³ to which Goelenio might add: "simiae seurrilitas & dissimulatio." ³⁴

That a mouth as large as a "great forneys" is sufficient to brand the Miller as a glutton, a swaggerer, a sensualist, and an impious fornicator who might be expected to swear by God's "armes and by blood and bones" (A, 3125), is attested by the best physiognomists. Rasis says: ³⁵ "Qui magnum habet os, gulosus est et audax"; the *Secreti Secretorum* ³⁶ is again in accord: (MS. Ph.) "Qui habet os

³² *Op. cit.*, *supra*, p. 182.

³³ *Op. cit.*, in Foerster, II, p. 139.

³⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 26.

³⁵ *Op. cit.*, in Foerster, II, p. 168.

³⁶ *Op. cit.*, in Foerster, II, p. 205.

latum, est bellicosus et audax, (or, from ms. S) animosus"; and both are probably thinking of a passage from Polemon:³⁷ "Latitude oris et labii crassities ventris cupidem et voracitatem significat, cum simul iniuriosus et valde impius sit . . . Nec magis os cavum quod tanquam in profundo est laudo. Est enim pravum et invidiae caedis amoris et libidinis coeundi index." Saunders, as usual, states the matter in clear and picturesque English: "He that hath a greet and broad mouth is shameless, a great babler and liar, a carrier of false tales, very foolish, impudent, courageous, but perfidious withal . . . *Indagine* and *Corvus* say, they were never deceived by this sign."³⁸ Nor does this sign fail in the case of the Miller. His "Pilates vois" is, moreover, still another indication of an evil and malignant nature. According to Aristotle:³⁹ "Qui magna vociferantur graviter, iniuriosi (sunt)"; or as Rasis has it:⁴⁰ "qui vocem habet gravem, sui ventris serviens est"; or in the words of the *Secreti Secretorum*:⁴¹ "si vero vox sua fuerit grossa, erit iracundus et praecipitans, malae naturae"; with all of which may be compared the ME. *Sec. Sec.*: "Tho that haue a grete voice and orible and not ful hey, done gladly wronges" (p. 231), and the further statement that "if his voys be right greet, he is Irous (hasty), and of euyl nature" (p. 166). The Miller's deep, rumbling voice must be carefully distinguished from the loud, sonorous voice such as has Emetrius, King of Inde:

His voys was as a trompe thunderinge (A, 2174).

³⁷ *Op. cit.*, in Foerster, II, pp. 226 f.

³⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 196.

³⁹ *Op. cit.*, in Foerster, I, p. 85.

⁴⁰ *Op. cit.*, in Foerster, II, p. 169.

⁴¹ *Loc. cit.*, in Foerster, II, p. 209. Cf. also I, p. 103, II, p. 266, and *Sec. Old Philis.*, note to l. 2647.

For as Polemon tells us:⁴² "Cum vocem cavam gravam sonoram audis, ei strenuitatem attribue magnam audaciam, sinceritatem et veritatem." Chaucer knows his physiognomy.

Chaucer is quite aware of the fact that, of all the parts of the body, the nose is a most infallible indicator of character. He is careful, therefore, to tell us that the Miller's nose is "camuse," i. e., flat, low and concave, a pug-nose, with wide distended nostrils, and with an unsightly wart on the top, in which there is a tuft of red hairs. As to the significance to be attached to such a nose, Polemon affirms:⁴³ "Nasus . . . simus scorationem et rei venereas amorem prodit"; nor is the *Secreti Secretorum* less explicit:⁴⁴ "cuius nasus simus est, libidinosus et amans coitus est." All of the physiognomists agree that wide-open nostrils indicate a man easily angered, "For whan a man angryth, his noose thurles oppenyth" (*Sec. Sec.*, pp. 228, 234), to which may be added, "who-so hath a lei and Plate noose amynd, stoupyng towarde the butte, he is a iongoloure and a lyar" (*ibid.*, p. 234). And as Rasis will have it:⁴⁵ "cuius nares latae sunt, luxuriosus est."

Any discussion of the Miller's wart must necessarily lead us into a consideration of that division of physiognomy known generally to the Middle Ages as metoposcopy, which, in addition to treating of the significance of the lines corresponding to the celestial bodies on the forehead,

⁴² *Op. cit.*, in Foerster, I, p. 266.

⁴³ *Op. cit.*, in Foerster, I, p. 228.

⁴⁴ *Loc. cit.*, in Foerster, II, p. 203. Cf. also II, pp. 204, 167, 152; Goclenio, *Op. cit.*, p. 58; *Sec. Philis.*, "Cammyd nose . . . With gristel of nose litel redily, Is sone wroth, hoot and hasty," ll. 2623 ff.; ME. *Sec. Sec.*, "Tho that haue grete noosys lyghtely bene talintid to couetise, and bene desposyd to concupiscence," p. 228.

⁴⁵ *Op. cit.*, in Foerster, II, p. 167.

deals with warts, moles, and other natural marks found on the face. It is based, as are the kindred sciences of geomancy and chiromancy, together with the science of dreams and medicine, on astrology. That Chaucer's knowledge of medicine, in its more technical as well as in its astrological aspects, was wider and more accurate than Professor Lounsbury⁴⁶ and others once supposed, has recently been demonstrated by Professors J. L. Lowes and O. F. Emerson.⁴⁷ And that he was also well acquainted with the "symmetrical proportions and signal moles of the body," is revealed in his description of the Miller's wart. From the time of Ptolemy on down to the age of Chaucer, I understand, astrologers were accustomed to "attribute" to the various planets sundry corresponding parts of the body: to the Sun, for example, the nerves, the sinews, and the brain; to Jupiter, the hands, the liver, and the blood; and, what concerns us especially at this point, to Venus, the nose, the mouth, and the corresponding instruments of generation.⁴⁸ Unfortunately, I have not been able to secure medieval medico-astrological books by such authorities as Haly Abenragel, an Arabian physician of the eleventh century, Visconti, and the "Brittish Merlin"; but I have had access to a later work by M. H. Cardan,⁴⁹ who appends to his treatise the original discussion of moles by Melampus the Grecian (with a French translation), and especially to a complete epitome of astrological science by Mr. Richard Saunders.⁵⁰ Now this

⁴⁶ T. R. Lounsbury, *Studies in Chaucer*, II, p. 394.

⁴⁷ J. L. Lowes, Chaucer's "*lovenes maladie of Heroes*," *Modern Philology*, XI, p. 391 ff.; O. F. Emerson, Chaucer's "*Opie of Thebes Fyn*," *ibid.*, XVII, p. 287.

⁴⁸ Cf. Saunders, *op. cit.*, p. 305. ⁴⁹ *La Metoposcopia*, Paris, 1658.

⁵⁰ The full title of his work is *Physiognomie, and Chiromancie, Metoposcopia, Dreams, and The Art of Memory*, London, 2nd ed., 1671.

Saunders, who has apparently familiarized himself with the works of all the above-mentioned ancient writers, is the authority *par excellence* on all things physiognomical, chiromantical, metoposcopical, a self-styled "student of astrology and physis," *semetipsissimum*. He complains of his sources that they were so "depraved with manual Errors, that no light of truth could I derive from these Fountains; but whatsoever shews of truth did therein appear, I have found them rather mistaken fallacies than real verities" (p. 296). But after sifting all the material at his disposal and comparing it with his own personal observations, he at last arrives at the truth of the whole matter.

We are, therefore, interested to hear what Saunders has to say about warts on the nose. He says (p. 287):

Now let us treat of the Nose, which, as before I observed, relates to the Genitals or Secrets. When a Mole is on the root of the Forehead, in the hollow between the Nose and the Forehead, there is another on the Foreskin of the flesh: but Haly saith, a Mole on the Forehead another on the stones; but he explains not in what part of the Forehead, when as he means the lower part of the Forehead, next the beginning of the Nose. Haly again saith, He which hath a Mole or mark on the Nostril, hath another on the privy parts on the circumference of the genitals, and another on the ribs and that side of the breast; but by the nostrils here should be understood the top of the nose; but I attribute this mistake to his interpreter, who might easily mistake the *Arabick*, and render *Naris* for *Nasus*. Melampus renders his judgment, that if a Mole appear on the Nose or near the eye, that person is beyond measure Venereal . . . : a Mole on the Nostrils gives another on the Stones, between which and the nostrils there is great sympathy.

We are especially pleased to get these opinions of Haly, because Chaucer mentions him in the list of celebrated physicians in the General Prologue (A, 431) and must have known the contents of his work *De Iudiciis*, or per-

haps his commentary on Galen.⁵¹ It is also comforting to note the trifling nature of the "manual Errors" of which Haly stands convicted, because we may now accept Saunders as a more or less accurate authority on the science as it must have been understood in Chaucer's time. He is correct, moreover, in his quotation of Melampus, who says:⁵² "S'il (le seing) est au Nez de l'homme, & que sa couleur soit blonde, il sera insatiable en amour; Et mesmes il a vn Seing en vn *lieu caché*." And this reminds us of the fact that Chaucer knows what he is about when he makes the Wife of Bath own to having somewhere about her person "the prente of sēynt Venus seel" (D, 604) and, on account of having been born when Taurus was in the ascendent with Mars in his first house, lament:

Yet have I Martes mark up-on my face,
And also in another privee place (D, 619).⁵³

But to return to the Miller's wart. The exact location of it is of the utmost importance. Chaucer says: "Up-on the cop right of his nose he hade a werte," which may be interpreted in either one of two ways: It is right on top, i. e., directly or exactly on top (or, for aught I know, on the very point), or on the top of the nose a little to the right side. I am inclined to think that Chaucer had the latter meaning in mind when he wrote the passage. But in either case the significance of it is not flattering to the Miller. Says Cardan: "Si le seing est posé sur le mileu

⁵¹ Cf. Saunders, *op. cit.*, p. 287; T. Warton, *op. cit.*, I, p. 440; Lounsbury, *op. cit.*, II, p. 393.

⁵² Translated in Cardan, *op. cit.*, p. 223. Melampus flourished in the time of Julius Cæsar; *vide* Preface to Cardan.

⁵³ In my next article, by the way, I shall have the pleasure of casting the horoscope of the Wife of Bath and of showing the nature of this "Martes mark," together with its location and significance.

du nez, il signifie que l'homme à cause des femmes, & la femme à cause des hommes, seront sujets aux homicides, & addonnez à une honteuse paillardise." ⁵⁴ Saunders is still more explicit: "A mole in a man or woman appearing under the very fore point of the Nose toward the middle . . . describes another on the fore part of the Privy member, and denotes the man to be inclined to filthy infamous luxury, and subject to a violent gout, or worse, which he gets by women's company; . . . if it appear red, he is principally pained in the extreme parts of his body, as Hands, Arms, Legs, and Feet . . . ; if it appear as a Lentil, he is in most danger of the secret Privy parts; let him take heed therof." ⁵⁵ If the mark is on the top of the nose, a little to the right, Cardan says: "Tout-fois, si le seing est placé au milieu du costé droit du nez, il produira des debats & des miseres à l'un & à l'autre sexe." ⁵⁶ Saunders again assents, adding further complications: "A man or woman having a Mole on top of the bridge of the Nose, inclining to the right side a little . . . indicates another on the top of the Yard or privy member, and discovers the man to be an enemy to his own peace, to sow discord between himself and his wife: . . . if it appear of honey colour, contentious brawlings shall most perplex him: if red, he is most afflicted with envious hostility; if it is like a wart or Lentil, he is a principal Artificer in his calling." ⁵⁷ And finally, as to the red tuft of hairs that stands out from the Miller's wart, Saunders would probably say, "He that hath the nose hairy at the point, or above, is a person altogether simple hearted." ⁵⁸

From the material presented in this paper we may deduce the obvious conclusion, I think, that in the draw-

⁵⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 203.

⁵⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 203.

⁵⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 195.

⁵⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 334.

⁵⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 335.

ing of the Reeve and Miller Chaucer makes ample use of the rules of physiognomy. The character of the Reeve is thereby made a consistent and unified whole, and the Miller's dissolute and abandoned character is to be realized in full only by reference to the physiognomical significance of his physical peculiarities. Chaucer expresses, indeed, some compunction of conscience at being compelled to present so much of the Miller's character as he does (A, 3170); but he is not backward in heaping up bodily signs that to the initiated speak louder than words. And it has been demonstrated, with reasonable certainty, I think, that Chaucer was more or less accurately acquainted with the contents of the pseudo-Aristotelean *Secreti Secretorum*—or some work based upon it—and that he probably knew—whether directly or indirectly, I cannot say—the medico-astrological lore contained in the works of Rasis and Haly.

WALTER CLYDE CURRY.

XI.—MILTON AND PLATO'S *TIMÆUS*

The Platonic origin of certain ideas in the seventh and eighth books of *Paradise Lost* has been ignored by Milton's critics. In Raphael's account of creation (Bk. VII, ll. 621-622), speaking of the stars, he calls them

Numerous, and every star perhaps a world
Of destined habitation . . .

And again (Bk. VIII, ll. 148-152):

. . . and other suns perhaps
With their attendant moons thou wilt descry
Communicating male and female light,
Which two great sexes animate the world,
Stored in each orb, perhaps with some that live.

For the suggestion that the stars are designed to become the future dwellings of souls the Scriptures could have afforded Milton no warrant. Nor does he in his prose discussion Of Perfect Glorification (*Christian Doctrine*, xxxiii) allude to such a possibility. Presumably, therefore, it was only a fancy, and not an article of Milton's faith. The suggestion of it he probably owed to his favorite Greek author, Plato.

In the *Timæus* (41e-42a) Plato says the creator, after framing the universe, distributed souls equal in number to the stars and assigned each soul to a star. . . Also he said that he who lived well during his appointed time would return to the habitation of his star (πάλιν εἰς τὴν τοῦ συννόμου πορουφείς οἴκησιν ἄστρου) and there have a blessed and suitable existence. Plato's theory regarding the creation of souls may be briefly summarized as follows: God created the souls all at once, distributing them

among the stars, afterward delegating to inferior divinities whom Plato names "children" (*παῖδες*) the task of providing suitable bodies for their earthly habitation. In the *Timæus* (42d) we read, "When he had given all these laws to his creatures, that he might be guiltless of their future evil, he sowed some of them in the earth, and some in the moon, and some in the other stars which are the measures of time; and when he had sown them, he committed to the younger gods the fashioning of their mortal bodies."¹

This theory, though attractive to Milton,² and influential upon his poetry, he decisively rejected in his prose discussion of creation because the idea of pre-existence of souls involved in it seemed to him on scriptural grounds untenable. In the *Christian Doctrine* (Bk. vii), discussing the creation of man in God's image (Gen. i, 26), he argues that it could not have been the body alone that was created but the soul of man also, because it is in the soul that our likeness to God principally consists. This "precludes us," he says, "from attributing pre-existence to the soul which was then formed,—a groundless notion sometimes entertained but refuted by Gen. ii, 7." Basing his contention on the assertion "man became a living soul," Milton in the following pages argues at length in refutation of Plato's theory of pre-existence, proving that man cannot be separated into soul and body, but that the whole

¹ It may be noted that in two poetic passages (*P. L.*, iii, l. 390, and *P. L.*, vii, ll. 192 ff.) and in the *Christian Doctrine* (Chap. vii) Milton, also, relying for authority upon three passages in the New Testament (*I Cor.* viii, 6; *Col.* i, 16, and *Heb.* i, 2), represents God as delegating the actual work of creation to Christ—a conception quite un-Hebraic and wholly alien to the spirit of the author of *Gen.* i.

² The theory attracted Spenser also. See the "Hymne in Honour of Beautie," ll. 99 ff.

man is soul, and the soul man, "unless we had rather take the heathen writers for our teachers respecting the nature of the soul," an obvious reference to Plato's theory.

With certain other Platonic ideas about the nature of the soul Milton seems to have been more in sympathy. Each identified the soul with reason. Speaking of the world-soul, Plato said (*Tim.* 36e), the body of heaven is visible; but the soul, invisible; and partakes of reason (λογισμοῦ) and harmony (ἁρμονίας). The individual immortal soul³ Plato locates in the head, where it "dwells at the top of the body, and raises us from earth toward our heavenly kindred." At first it is clogged and encumbered by the material elements in its fleshly tenement. Only gradually, and through education, can it become truly rational, and attain to the fullness and health of the perfect man (*Tim.* 44b-c). Plato's identification of the soul with reason is further shown in his discussion of diseases of the soul (*Tim.* 86b), where he affirms that the soul is subject to but one disease, namely folly (ἄνοϊαν) but distinguishes two varieties of folly-madness (μανίαν) and ignorance (ἁμαθίαν).⁴ In such an identification of the soul with reason, Milton, like Dante,⁵ closely followed Plato.

. . . whence the soul

Reason receives, and reason is her being.

(*P. L.*, v, ll. 486-487.)

³ Besides the rational soul, a diluted remnant from the cosmic soul, and hence immortal, each individual was thought of as equipped with a mortal soul located in the trunk of the body. This was divided; the better part placed in the heart, and the worse in the abdomen.

⁴ As has been pointed out by James Adam in *The Vitality of Platonism* (pp. 66-67), we may easily be misled by Plato's use of intellectual terminology into forgetting that he always conceives of the reason or intellect as having to do with the good.

⁵ "Mind is that culminating and most precious part of the soul which is Deity" (*Convito*, III, c. 2).

In the *Christian Doctrine* (Chap. VII) in his discussion of the text "man became a living soul" Milton defines the phrase "living soul" as meaning "a body or substance individual, animated, sensitive, and rational."

Closely related to their conception of the nature of the soul was both Milton's and Plato's idea of its perfectibility. With Plato's assertion that the end and aim of all existence was perfection, and that perfection consisted in assimilation to God (*ὁμοίωσις θεῷ*) Milton fully agreed. Plato said of the soul (*Tim.* 90a) "God gave this as a genius to each one, . . . to raise us like plants, not of an earthly but of an heavenly growth from earth to our kindred which is in heaven." Both the process of such an evolution, and the analogy Plato used to explain it, seem to have appealed strongly to Milton; for in the corresponding passage (*P. L.*, v, ll. 468 ff.) he paraphrased and expanded it as follows:

O Adam, one almighty is, from whom
 All things proceed, and up to him return,
 If not depraved from good, created all
 Such to perfection; one first matter all,
 Endued with various forms, various degrees
 Of substance, and, in things that live, of life;
 But more refined, more spiritous and pure,
 As nearer to him placed or nearer tending
 Each in their several active spheres assigned,
 Till body up to spirit work, in bounds
 Proportioned to each kind. So from the root
 Springs lighter the green stalk, from thence the leaves
 More aery, last the bright consummate flower
 Spirits odorous breathes: flowers and their fruit,
 Man's nourishment, by gradual scale sublimed,
 To vital spirits aspire, to animal,
 To intellectual; give both life and sense,
 Fancy and understanding; whence the soul
 Reason receives, and reason is her being,
 Discursive or intuitive: discourse

Is ofttest yours, the latter most is ours,
Differing but in degree, of kind the same.*

Plato's ideas expressed in the *Timæus* about the soul—its nature, development, and destiny—appear to have interested Milton profoundly. While rejecting Plato's theory of pre-existence, he was attracted by the notion that excarnate souls might live a post-mortuary existence in the stars. Moreover, he was in full sympathy with Plato's identification of the soul with reason, as well as with his belief in soul-development.

Plato's ideas regarding the creation of the world, Milton accepted unreservedly in despite of Patristic, and even to some extent of scriptural authority. Plato thought of the universe as framed out of formless matter. Creation was, therefore, a bringing of order out of chaos rather than a creation out of nothing. The latter was to Plato inconceivable. *Ex nihilo nihil fit* was a basic article of his creed. Both he and Aristotle affirmed that matter (ἕλη) is eternal.⁷ In the *Timæus* (29e) Plato describes the motive of creation to God's desire to diffuse that goodness which he himself is, and this "goodness" implies, not benevolence in the Christian sense, but law, order, harmony, like the idea of good in the *Republic*.⁸ "So, the creator finding the whole visible sphere not at rest, but moving in an irregular and disorderly manner, out of

* The idea here expressed of matter passing from a lower to a higher plane through the successive stages of a spiritual evolution, particularly the idea of the final stages of such an evolution—the complete spiritualization of the human body—was a favorite one with Milton. See, for example, *Comus*, 459-463. We find also the converse of the idea—that the soul by self-indulgence may gradually be debased to body. See *Comus*, 463-469.

⁷ See Aristotle, *Phys.*, II, 6-9.

⁸ This is the meaning of *ἀγαθός* according to Jowett in his Introduction to the translation of the *Timæus*.

disorder he brought order, considering that this was far better than the other" (*Tim.* 30a).

Such an idea of creation was, of course, quite un-Hebraic. Possibly, as Jowett suggests (in his Introduction to his translation of the *Timæus*) because the Hebrew was less sensible than the Greek to the existence of evil, but more probably because he was more insistent upon representing God as the first cause, he denied the eternity of matter. "By the word of Jehovah were the heavens made . . . He spake and it was done," sang the Psalmist (33: 6-9); and he represented a deep seated Hebrew belief.⁹ Only in the apocryphal wisdom of Solomon (xi, 17), the influence upon which of Platonic ideas is generally recognized,¹⁰ do we find among Jewish writers of the pre-Christian era a belief in a primitive amorphous matter.

Citing this passage from the Wisdom of Solomon in lieu of canonical scriptural authority, Milton in the *Christian Doctrine* (vii) constructs an elaborate argument in refutation of the theory that the world was created out of nothing, affirming his belief in an original matter "derivable from no other source than from the fountain of every substance, though at first confused and formless, being afterwards adorned and digested into order by the hand of God." This belief of Milton naturally found expression in his poetry, also. Before creation there was only

. . . the void and formless infinite (*P. L.*, III, 12).

In the same book Uriel, the Regent of the Sun, tells Satan,

I saw when at his word, the formless mass,
This world's material mould, came to a heap:

⁹ See, also, Ps. 102, 25 and 121, 2; Jer. 10, 12; Is. 42, 5, and 45, 7-9; Eccles. 15, 14; II Macc. 7, 28.

¹⁰ It is significant that the Platonic and Aristotelian word *ελη* occurs also in this passage.

Confusion heard his voice, and wild Uproar
 Stood ruled, stood vast Infinitude confined;
 Till at his second bidding Darkness fled,
 Light shone, and order from disorder sprung.

(*P. L.*, III, 708 ff.)

The last verse, like the last line of the prose passage above cited, sounds like an echo of Plato's assertion (*Tim.* 30a) *εἰς τὰξιν αὐτὸ ἡγάγευ ἐκ τῆς ἀταξίας*.

Both Plato and Milton believed this primitive formless matter out of which the world was made to have been wholly good, because of divine origin; and both accounted for the presence of evil in the world on the hypothesis of dualism. Evil came, they believed, not from the God-head, but from some rival power coeval with the Deity. Plato thought of the world as a mixed creation—the product of reason (*νοῦς*) and necessity (*ἀνάγκη*), the latter being a personification of the formless matter out of which the world was made. To it Plato attributed the evil of the world.¹¹ Milton's declaration that primitive matter was good is unequivocal. "Matter," he says in the *Christian Doctrine*, "like the form and nature of the angels itself, proceeded incorruptible from God; and even since the fall of man it remains incorruptible as far as concerns its essence." Accounting for the existence of evil, he says, "strictly speaking, indeed, it is neither matter nor form that sins; and yet having proceeded from God, and become in the power of another party, what is there to prevent them, inasmuch as they have now become

¹¹ Though Plato does not in the *Timæus* discuss the origin of evil, he elsewhere clearly states his belief. In the *Theætetus* he says: "Nay, Theodorus, evil can neither perish—for there must always be something opposed to the good—nor can it be situated in the heaven; but of necessity it haunts our mortal nature and this present world." In the *Laws* he affirms the existence of two world-souls—an evil and a good contending against each other.

mutable, from contracting taint and contamination through the enticements of the devil, or those which originate in man himself?"

From the correspondences that have been cited between Plato and Milton's thought regarding the soul and the creation of the material universe, it appears evident that the influence upon Milton of the *Timæus* was more considerable than has hitherto been recognized.

EDWARD CHAUNCEY BALDWIN.

XII.—ORDER AND PROGRESS IN *PARADISE* *LOST*

We do not grow less certain, as time goes on, that Milton's idea of the divine nature fails to satisfy some of our deepest religious feelings. We require of theology that it be logical; we require also that it be humane. It may become mystical; but when reason fails, theology must not become illogical; and when reason demands, it must not become inhumane. Milton's God is either inconsistent or cruel or both, but he is not a mystery.⁽¹⁾ Hence Professor Erskine,¹ desiring to find the poet humane, can well argue that the idea of death in *Paradise Lost* undergoes a distinct change, but hence on the other hand Professor Stoll,² desiring to find him consistent, can just as well argue, falling back upon the convenient notion of predestination, that there is no change where the change was intended from the beginning. Yet however we argue, Milton fails as a theologian by attempting to reduce the whole mystery of human nature to a formula and arriving at a dilemma. Pain is in itself an evil which it is the ineffable hope of mankind to destroy. The experience of pain may be used for its elimination, and the end is good, but pain is none the less evil. Man's supreme experience is not in causing but in destroying it. What spiritual satisfaction we could find without this experience is a mystery, but we arrive only at confusion when we say that evil and the cause of it, without ceasing to be evil, are good because without them we should be without the expe-

¹ *Publ. M. L. A.*, xxxii, p. 580.

² *Ibid.*, xxxiii, p. 429.

rience. (Man at his best seeks to accomplish his ends with as little pain as possible; God should be nothing short of infinitely more humane than man.) Milton's omnipotent beneficence can not or will not do for man what man would do for himself if he were Milton's God. The trouble is, of course, with the whole Calvinistic system of thought. The asserter of eternal providence proves more than we wish to believe. ✓ He sinks the ship to dampen the sails. He starts up a snake in order to gain credit for killing it. He blackens the moral character of God in order to dispose of the problem of evil.

If this were all, we should have to content ourselves by saying that Milton succeeds only in uttering most sublimely what we most devoutly believe to be untrue. But this is not all. The Puritans may have had a forbidding theology, but in the event they made of their theology the motive for permanently altering the elements of English political life, and Milton in the very widest sense is the great poet of Puritanism. His imagination worked in the language of Biblical myth and protestant theology. His mind worked upon politics and government. He had lived actively through stern times, seeing England ruined now in the name of one cause now of another. In the evil days of the Restoration, he might have despaired of all causes and of human nature itself. He wrote instead a poem in which he clothed in congenial forms, not, as he intended, a convincing idea of universal moral order—what human being has ever been able to do that?—but, what was quite another matter, the typical aspects of English political character and the enduring principles of the modern English state. ✓ In *Paradise Lost* the relations of Adam and Eve with the creator are almost exclusively those of subjects and ruler. ✓ God is conceived, not as a mystery, but as a recognized governor; his laws are not,

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as Hooker argued, difficult to discover and to make operative in human society, but known statutes affecting the conduct of individuals directly and to be disobeyed upon pain of immediate practical consequences. The commonest hindrance, therefore, to the full appreciation of *Paradise Lost*, especially in the case of many deeply religious spirits, arises from this assumption of Milton's that the relations of men with the compelling forces of universal nature are of the same character as their relations with the laws and administration of political states. We have in these latter times separated, perhaps too completely, our theology from our politics, but we must not forget that the seventeenth century could not keep them apart. For this very reason, our part should be, not so much to evolve an apologetic for Milton's theology nor yet to dismiss it as unpleasant or of no account, but to seek what in its terms the poet thought. Our esteem for him will not suffer in the process, and our own reward will not be mean; for where else shall we encounter so great a poet writing from so vivid and direct a knowledge of so momentous a period in the political history of modern peoples?

(With this in mind, we can, perhaps, see a significance we have neglected at the close of the tenth book of *Paradise Lost*. In language which Milton's generation had not begun generally to use, but without violence to his underlying conception, we may describe the situation there presented somewhat as follows. Eve, having made use of her freedom to conceive a desire for greater happiness than she possesses under a theoretically perfect and admittedly authoritative government, has taken action under the advice of the opposition to secure that end. Adam, against his better judgment as the ranking beneficiary of the party in power, has out of loyalty to his fellow-subject joined her in her disobedience when it is too late to undo it.

Government has promptly intervened in the name of law, punished, humiliated, and threatened them with hard labor and the defeat of all their hopes. Adam, regretting at first most keenly his own immediate loss, ignobly puts the blame on Eve, whose courage in accepting it and offering to bear alone the consequences prompts him to put aside resentment and to take counsel with her in their common predicament. It is she who perceives at once a use for freedom which may enable them through independent action to mitigate their distress. If death to them and to their children be the only fruit of that labor which is to cost the sweat of his brow and the pain of her body, they may decline to labor, they may refrain from children; and if that prove too difficult, they may seek death at once, "destruction with destruction to destroy."

Thus Milton conceives the mother of mankind to be the first to deem the cessation of a present mode of existence no worse than the continuance of its woe, the first to suggest direct action against slavery by the power "of many ways to die the shortest choosing," the first to propose a strike for a higher wage than death. The strike is never called, but the freedom to call it remains Eve's final recourse, and under a prudent ruler from the moment she mentions it her lot begins to lighten. Adam, wisely mindful to keep what good they have and to do nothing to make bad matters worse, is moved by the boldness of the suggestion to petition government for a redress of grievances. Up to this point God has done nothing overt on man's behalf except to make an unsuccessful effort to confine Satan in hell and exclude him from paradise. Adam, however, remembers vague promises of better things which God had made and the opposition had promised to fulfill. Let them now admit their error in trusting to the opposition, and appeal to government instead to grant a meas-

ure of what it had proposed and what it had punished them for seeking. With this compromise government is forced to be content, the alternative being what Eve had indicated but what it does not do to mention, the more or less early dissolution of the state. A new department of the administration is announced, one in which the people, even the lowliest, are to be represented, and which is to promote their interest together with the discomfiture of the opposition. That this is a compromise, however, government can not admit. Without at least some show of consistency government could not exist, and without government there could be no order. ✓ For consistency's sake, therefore, it is claimed that the change thus brought about had been all along intended, that the disobedience of the subjects had removed all grounds upon which they might claim it as of right, but that the disturbance had been nevertheless foreseen and provided for as the necessary occasion for progress. ✓ To be sure, Adam and Eve thus get precisely what they sought when they ate the apple and could have got in no other way under the circumstances, but at the price of admitting that the incidental pain was the fault, not of the government which was unable to provide a better method of promoting happiness, but of the use to which they had put their freedom. Yet that freedom they possessed, together with all the good that came of it, through the favor of government alone.

It is, doubtless, not difficult to suppose that, absolutely speaking, such may be the moral nature of human governments at their best. That it is the nature of perfection we can not believe. Milton is truer as a political philosopher than as a theologian. (To be sure, it is well not to speak absolutely of governments, but if we insist upon doing so, we must admit that none deserves to rule which is not both wise and powerful.) ✓ On the other hand, if

we withheld obedience until governments were proved omnipotent and infallible, we should have none at all. Therefore do prudent men take refuge in the saving assumption (that the citizen can have no case to sue against the state, that though men err the king can do no wrong, not even when he permits wrong to occur in a presumptively perfect society for the purpose of making it more perfect. Thus are both order and progress secured in a polity which provides liberty for the individual to conceive desires and an instrument, however clumsy, for checking and satisfying them. We may, if we wish, say that this means that government seeks always to retain power and to save its face, that the subject accedes to both purposes for a price, and that inconsistency is upon both hands. True, but the price may be happiness, and a dilemma through whose horns we move toward paradise may prove a blessed mystery.

This is the central political conception at which *Paradise Lost*, after having passed not without glory yet not with perfect ease through the world of myth and theology, finally arrives. Milton's idea is presented through four deeply human characters, realized with an Elizabethan vigor and dramatic fitness. (God, viewed in this light, is not unworthy to stand with the others. The poet who had defended regicide and served Cromwell displays with imaginative truth too bold for many the warp and strain to which the character of him who wields authority is subject. God is the man habituated to office, and like many another statesman, he protests too much that all is right because he is in heaven, pities and scolds his opponents for playing ducks and drakes with his best of all possible worlds, and proves to his own satisfaction that he never makes mistakes, that nothing happens which he has not expected and provided for. Yet though the per-

sonality of the ruler seen thus close at hand appear little less than odious, his skirts are glorious. It is not the pettiness of the official which matters but the kingliness of the office in the eyes of the subject. This, without loss of freedom, Milton unwaveringly maintains. Satan is not a finer imaginative creation than God, nor does he possess a more progressive character. He is merely his majesty's opposition; he is God out of office. No less well disposed toward the subject, his aim is, however, like God's his own power and glory and but incidentally man's happiness. Otherwise his only sin is that he is indeed the first Whig, or at any rate that he is the first minority leader in a party government. Were he successful, the case for Adam and Eve would not be altered. Adam, of course, is the conservative, wisely content with an order of things indubitably good as far as it goes, but timid about adventuring farther, given to laying down the law, smug, and more than a little dull. He possesses more information but fewer ideas than Eve, to whom, nevertheless, he gravely expounds the thoughts for which he is unconsciously indebted to her. Yet he is at the same time essentially loyal and in matters of business indispensable. No less indispensable is Eve, the "unwary and too desirous" radical. She is one of the supreme creations of the poet's art. Alive at first chiefly to her sensations, she begins by turning all Adam's prosings upon the admirable scheme of things into the purest poetry descriptive of all the loveliness of Eden. (With far more charm and tact than he, she yet grows adventurous in freedom, and when the adventure leads them both to grief, is the more unselfish, the more loving, the more courageous.) Without her no progress would occur and at the same time there would be no one to blame for all the trouble that it costs. Not her aspirations but the practical

good sense of Adam finally leads them to their working compromise with God.

Thus from the rigors of Calvinistic theory did the imagination of the poet pass to a vision of the political state as the product of character under the exigencies of circumstance, of progress as the resultant not of a demonstrable program but of the conflict and convergence of human wills. Dante, though he wrote the *De Monarchia*, had a mind that remained the lover of theology. Milton, though he could not escape from theology, had a mind that always arrived at politics. Dante's heaven, therefore, is an academy of the blest speculating upon the mystery which is God. Milton's is a parliament listening to speeches from the throne and engrossed in the conduct of affairs. We may not like to think that the moral order of the universe is patterned after the British constitution, but that should not obscure for us the greatness of *Paradise Lost*. The contribution of Puritanism was not in the realm of general ideas but in that of government. Theoretically it made men slaves of an over-ruling providence; practically it helped to free them from earthly tyrants.

As a theory the Puritans' idea of God went to pieces upon a dilemma; in practice it gave a sanction to order and a use to freedom in the relations of men with each other. Milton in his theology does not rise above his source, but his true place is with the great political philosophers of his race from Hooker to Burke. *Paradise Lost* is the epic of the English state, the image of the political character of the English-speaking peoples. Not its theology, therefore, but its humanity is catholic.

WILLIAM HALLER.

XIII.—AN ESSAY IN CRITICAL BIOGRAPHY— CHARLES CHURCHILL

A writer in *The Annual Register*, soon after the death of Charles Churchill, gave to the world the first account of his life; this was followed by *The Genuine Memoirs of Mr. Charles Churchill*. To Bell's edition of the poet's works is prefixed a life of the author by Doctor Johnson; this does not add anything new. Kippis, in his *Biographia Britannica*, followed most of the inaccuracies of the first biographer, but added some new material from his personal information. Anderson used these sources in the *British Poets* (1795). Robert Southey in his *Life of Cowper*, and William Tooke in an edition of Churchill's *Works* (1804) made more elaborate studies of the poet's life, but, unfortunately, were satisfied with earlier biographies or neglected to give careful references to original material. John Forster, in *The Edinburgh Review* (1845) pointed out many of Tooke's inaccuracies. Every biographer of Churchill from Chalmers in his *English Poets* to Leslie Stephen in *The Dictionary of National Biography*, followed Tooke, or Tooke modified by Forster. In 1903, R. F. Scott in his *Admissions to the College of St. John the Evangelist in the University of Cambridge*, made several valuable contributions to our knowledge about the early career of the satirist. Ferdinand Putsch, in *Charles Churchill, sein Leben und seine Werke* (1909), had not seen Mr. Scott's book, and followed the earlier biographers.

The fact that the only authoritative life of Churchill is the very brief account given by Mr. Scott in a book not readily accessible, has led me to attempt an examination of the material available in America, with the purpose of

stating as concisely as possible what is known of Churchill's life, and of indicating in every case the source of the information. This method will, I hope, clear the way for further investigation across the water.

Charles Churchill was born in Vine Street, Westminster, in February,¹ 1731-2.² As Horace Walpole said, he "stepped out of obscurity."³ The name Churchill was quite common in Middlesex,⁴ yet most of those who bore it seem not to have emerged from the oblivion that veils the annals of the English middle-class. At present, all we know about Charles Churchill's pedigree is that he was the son of the Reverend Charles Churchill of the church of St. John the Evangelist in Westminster. His mother may have been Scotch.⁵

Of Charles Churchill, the elder, we know only a few facts. He was born about 1712, was admitted in 1723 to St. Peter's College—as Westminster was called under the original foundation—and left in 1725.⁶ On March

¹ Churchill's poem, *Gotham*, Book I, ll. 385-6, gives the month of the poet's birth (W. Tooke, *The Poetical Works of Charles Churchill. With Copious Notes and The Life of the Author*. In Three Volumes. London, 1844. Unless otherwise stated all references to Churchill's poems will be made to this edition).

² In *The Register of Admissions to the College of St. John the Evangelist in Cambridge*. Edited with Notes by R. F. Scott, M.A., Cambridge, 1903. Three parts. Part III, p. 126, the poet's age is given on July 8, 1748, as "past sixteen," which, allowing for the change in the calendar, would make the date of his birth in the year 1731-2.

³ Horace Walpole, *Memoirs of the Reign of George the Third*, first published by Sir Denis C. Marchant, Bart., and now re-edited by G. F. Russell Barker, London and N. Y., 1894. In four volumes, vol. I, p. 142.

⁴ H. B. Guppy, *Homes of Family Names in Great Britain*. London, 1890, p. 281.

⁵ Churchill, *The Prophecy of Famine*, ll. 221-2.

⁶ Joseph Welch, *Alumni Westmonasteriensis*, *The List of the Queen's Scholars of St. Peter's College, Westminster, admitted on that foundation since 1663, etc.* A New Edition, London, 1852, p. 281.

2, 1726, "Charles Churchill Pensioner" was admitted to Trinity College, Cambridge.⁷ He matriculated there in 1726 but did not graduate. He was probably the Charles Churchill whom Scott mentions as having been ordained Deacon, December 24, 1732, and Priest, February 19, 1732-3, by the Bishop of London.⁸ In 1733 he was appointed Curate and Lecturer of St. John the Evangelist, Westminster, and, March 31, 1742, Rector of Rainham in Essex,⁹ to both of which charges his eldest son was to succeed him. Besides this eldest son, Charles, and a daughter, Patty, there were two younger sons, John, an apothecary in Westminster, and William, a clergyman. John Churchill married, July 27, 1763, a Miss Titteridge of Petty France,¹⁰ and died after 1774;¹¹ William held the vicarage of Orton-on-the-Hill, Leicestershire, at his death in June, 1804.¹² Charles Churchill, the elder, died September 7, 1758.¹³ His wife died October 2, 1768, two days after the death of her daughter Patty.¹⁴

Charles Churchill, the future satirist, was captain of his election at the Westminster school, in 1745,¹⁵ that is, he was first in the examinations for students on the foun-

⁷ W. W. R. Ball and J. A. Venn (Editors), *Admissions to Trinity College, Cambridge*, in four volumes. London, 1911, vol. III, p. 88.

⁸ Scott, *op. cit.*, III, p. 580.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *St. James's Chronicle: or the British Evening Post*, for Thursday, July 28—Saturday, July 30, 1763.

¹¹ John Forster, in *Historical and Biographical Essays*. In two volumes. London, 1858, vol. II, p. 213.

¹² John Nichols, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Leicester*. In four volumes. London, 1807, vol. IV, part I, Appendix, p. 151. This speaks of his uncle as the Bishop of St. Asaph's, a clue which has not proved of value in determining the Churchill pedigree.

¹³ *The Gentleman's Magazine* for 1758, p. 452.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, for 1768, p. 495.

¹⁵ Welch, *op. cit.*, p. 534. He was perhaps a day-student five years before this (Scott, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 580).

dation. He was then about thirteen years old. He remained at Westminster until 1748, when, on July 8, he was admitted pensioner to St. John's College, Cambridge, Dr. Rutherford as tutor and surety.¹⁶ We do not know any particulars about his career at Cambridge, except that he did not graduate. About 1749, when only eighteen years old, he contracted a Fleet marriage with a girl named Martha Scott.¹⁷

Marriages in the region of the Fleet Prison were a source of much evil in England until the Marriage Act of Lord Hardwicke, in 1753, placed a check upon them. The ceremony, although legal and binding, was often performed in taverns and resorts of ill-repute by clergymen as dissolute and as drunken as those whom they united. Into this sort of union Churchill rushed with all the reckless abandon of eighteen years.

The writer of the *Memoirs* now prefixed to the edition of 1767, says that Churchill was rejected from Oxford on account of his deficiency in the learned languages. The same biographer states that the poet frequently mentioned his repulse from Oxford, and that "he and his companions have often asserted, that he could have answered the college examination had he thought proper but he so much despised the trifling questions that were put to him, that instead of making the proper replies, he only launched out in satirical reflections upon the abilities of the gentlemen whose office it was to judge of his."¹⁸

Tooke, who mentions the story of Churchill's rejection from Oxford,¹⁹ says also that when only eighteen

¹⁶ Scott, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 126.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 581.

¹⁸ *Memoir* prefixed to 1767 edition of Churchill's Works (from *The Annual Register*).

¹⁹ Tooke, *op. cit.*, Life prefixed to the poems.

Churchill stood for a fellowship at Merton College, Oxford, but precedence was given to older candidates. We have seen that, on July 8, 1748, the future satirist was admitted to the College of St. John the Evangelist in Cambridge, at the age of "past sixteen." Hence, if Tooke is correct in saying that he stood for a fellowship at Merton when eighteen years old, it must have been after his admission to Cambridge. To complicate matters even further, the author of the *Memoirs* says that the rejection from Oxford occurred before his marriage.

I have examined the printed records of the Oxford Colleges and have been unable to find any record that would connect the poet with that university. A writer in *Notes and Queries*²⁰ suggests that Churchill may have taken an examination for a scholarship while he was still a student at Westminster and have failed because he lacked influence to win the appointment. This suggestion has the merit of obviating at least the difficulty of finding a time when Churchill could have been a student at Oxford.

Tooke says²¹ that in 1751 Churchill with his wife went to Sunderland and remained there studying until 1753, when he returned to London to take possession of an estate which came to him in right of his wife. I have been unable to find proof of this statement. It accounts satisfactorily, however, for a period in the poet's life about which we have no other information.

On September 22, 1754, he was ordained Deacon by Edward Willis, Bishop of Bath and Wells.²² He is described in the Bishop's *Register* as "Charles Churchill now, or late of Saint John's College, in the University of

²⁰ *Notes and Queries*, 1st Series, vol. v, p. 75.

²¹ Tooke, *op cit.* p. xxiii.

²² Scott, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 581.

Cambridge.”²³ On September 23, 1754, he was licensed to the curacy of South Cadbury and Sparkford in Somerset. Mr. Scott quotes Rev. O. T. B. Croft, Rector of South Cadbury, who states that Charles Churchill officiated at marriages at South Cadbury, and that in 1756 three entries were signed by him. The Sparkford Registers do not begin until 1757.²⁴

On December 19, 1756, at Fulham, the Bishop of Rochester, acting for the Bishop of London, ordained Churchill as Priest.²⁵ In the records he is described as “late of St. John’s College, Cambridge.”²⁶ He was next licensed as curate to his father at Rainham in Essex. Mr. Scott quotes the Reverend T. W. Ward, Vicar of Rainham, who says that Charles Churchill signed banns from October, 1756, to September 17, 1758, and for several marriages in 1758. Mr. Ward states also that on March 20, 1759, Charlotte, daughter of the Reverend Charles Churchill and Martha his wife, was baptized.²⁷ This indicates clearly the period of Churchill’s charge at Rainham.

The *Life of Churchill*, reprinted from *The Annual Register* in the edition of his works published in 1767, makes the statement that the poet’s first charge was “a small curacy of thirty pounds a year in Wales.”²⁸ With such a small salary, this writer says, Churchill was forced to keep a cider-cellar.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ *Memoirs*, in *Works*, ed. 1767, p. iv. Such a small remuneration was not unusual for curates of parishes in the country districts of England. An advertisement for a curate in 1766 reads: “Wanted, Immediately, a Curate for the parish of East Anstey, in Devon. Salary, 25 £ per annum, with perquisites” (W. C. Sydney, *England and the English in the Eighteenth Century*, in two volumes. London, 1891, vol. II, p. 332).

It is evident from an examination of the facts given by Mr. Scott that Churchill's first curacy was not in Wales, but in South Cadbury and Sparkford in Somersetshire, and also that between September 22, 1754, and March 20, 1759, he could not have held a curacy in Wales. In 1758, after the death of his father, he was appointed Curate and Lecturer of the Church of St. John the Evangelist, Westminster.²⁹ This position he held until January 4, 1763.³⁰ We have thus accounted for the whole time between his ordination and his emergence as a literary figure. We must assume, therefore, that the biographer knew only that Churchill had held a charge in the west, and that he inferred it was across the border. To this period he assigned a current story about the cider-cellar.

Whether the cider story has any foundation or not, there was an exceedingly good reason why it should have sprung up about Churchill. Sir Francis Dashwood, Chancellor of the Exchequer, suggested as one of the means of raising money for the expenses of the government, a tax upon cider.³¹ This measure met with general disfavor, especially in the western counties;³² both Churchill and Wilkes opposed it in *The North Briton*.³³ There would have been, therefore, considerable humor in a story that represented Churchill as an ex-cider-merchant, and it is likely that the story sprang up during the agitation about the cider bill.

While Churchill was Lecturer and Curate of the church

²⁹ D. N. B. (Charles Churchill).

³⁰ *Notes and Queries*, 8th Series, vol. iv, p. 295. Note by W. E. Harland-Oxley.

³¹ W. Hunt, *The History of England*. From the Accession of George III to the close of Pitt's First Administration, 1760-1801. London, N. Y., and Bombay, 1905, p. 43.

³² H. Walpole, *Memoirs of George III*, ed. 1894, vol. i, p. 198.

³³ *The North Briton*, two volumes. London, 1763, numbers 42, 43.

of St. John the Evangelist in Westminster, he gave lessons in English to the pupils of a famous school known as The Ladies' Eton, kept by Mrs. Dennis at Number 31 Queen's Square, Bloomsbury.³⁴ He probably taught private pupils in addition to his work in the school.³⁵

These employments, however, were insufficient to supply the young clergyman with luxuries and his family with necessities. About 1760, he fell into debt and was saved from imprisonment only by the intervention of Dr. Pierson Lloyd, the father of his friend, Robert Lloyd. Dr. Lloyd satisfied his creditors and placed him on his feet again. Teaching and preaching had failed to support him; he now looked around for a new means of earning money.

Of Churchill's former associates at Westminster, Bonnell Thornton, George Colman, and Robert Lloyd were all successful in various kinds of literary work. Thornton and Colman were joint-editors of *The Connoisseur*, one of the numerous literary magazines of the time; in 1760, Lloyd had published *The Actor*, a poem about the art of acting. It was Lloyd's work, indeed, that showed Churchill most plainly the opportunity offered by satire on the players.

Before Churchill published his attack upon the stage, however, he tried to induce the publishers to take two poems, *The Bard*—a poem in Hudibrastic verse—and *The Conclave*, a satire against the Dean and Chapter of Westminster.³⁶ The former work the publishers rejected as "a contemptible performance," the latter, as "too personally satirical to be published without fear of prosecution."³⁷

³⁴ Scott, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 581, and Wheatley, *London, Past and Present*, vol. III, p. 132.

³⁵ Scott, *ibid.*

³⁶ Forster, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 225-6.

³⁷ Tooke, *op. cit.*, pp. xxxii-xxxiii.

The poet then decided to write his satire on the Theatres, and, "with the art of a skilful surgeon probed the wound to the bottom, but was not very gentle in the use of his instrument."³⁸ In March, 1761, he published *The Rosciad*.³⁹

To an age that loved the theatre, and was in close touch with the players, *The Rosciad* was certain to be of great interest. It aroused discussion everywhere in London. The players spread information about the opinions that it contained; the public enjoyed seeing pilloried the men who, upon the stage, were constantly holding up to the laughter of the mob the foibles of the great.⁴⁰

Since Churchill had published the poem anonymously, there was a great deal of curiosity in regard to the identity of the author. *The Critical Review*, in its March issue, printed a harsh account of *The Rosciad*, and attributed it to Colman, Lloyd, or Thornton. The author then issued a statement of his identity, and announced that an *Apology* addressed to the Critical Reviewers would appear in a short time.⁴¹ In *The Rosciad*, Garrick had been accorded the highest praise by its author; before the appearance of his next work, Churchill, for some unknown reason had turned against the great actor. *The Apology*, which appeared probably in April, 1761, attacked not only the hostile reviewers but also Garrick and his whole profession.⁴²

³⁸ Thomas Davies, *Memoirs of the Life of David Garrick, Esq.*, Interspersed with Characters and Anecdotes of his Theatrical Contemporaries, in two volumes. London, 1784, vol. I, p. 321.

³⁹ *The Critical Review*, vol. XI (January-June, 1761), p. 209.

⁴⁰ For details of this quarrel see my article, *The Battle of the Players and Poets, 1761-1766*, in *Modern Language Notes*, October, 1919.

⁴¹ Scott, *op. cit.*, p. 582.

⁴² It was not reviewed until May, 1761.—*The Critical Review*, vol. XI, p. 209.

The proceeds from the sale of *The Rosciad* and *The Apology* established the poet's fortunes. Accounts vary as to the exact amount: Tooke says the profits were "upwards of £1,000";⁴³ Scott places the figure at £2,000 for two months.⁴⁴ Whatever the amount was, it was sufficient to enable Churchill to pay his debts, to help his family, and to be independent of his position in the church.

The young poet-clergyman had been influenced undoubtedly by his father in the choice of a profession for the restraints and formalism of which he was by nature unfitted. He chafed in the bonds, but bore them as long as they were a means of support. When, however, prosperity came from his literary ventures, and he was no longer forced to serve an institution that had barely supplied him and his family with the necessities of life, he threw aside the outward forms of his profession. His first biographer says of this period: "He now quitted his wife . . . and resigning his gown, and all clerical functions, commenced a complete *man of the town*, got drunk, frequented stews, and giddy with false praise, thought his talents a sufficient atonement for all his follies."⁴⁵ This might seem a rather highly colored picture, but we have practically the same information from other sources. Walpole, for instance, calls him a "bacchanalian priest, now mouthing patriotism, and now venting libertinism, the scourge of bad men, and scarce better than the worst, debauching wives, and protecting his gown by the weight of his fist."⁴⁶

There may have been some excuse for his separation from his wife. The author of the *Memoirs* denies this,

⁴³ Tooke, *op. cit.*, p. xxxviii.

⁴⁴ Scott, *op. cit.*, p. 582.

⁴⁵ *Memoirs* (1767 edition of *Works*), vol. I, p. ix.

⁴⁶ Walpole, *Memoirs of George III*, vol. I, p. 143.

but Kippis says in his *Biographia Britannica*, "It was always understood in Westminster that Mrs. Churchill's imprudence kept too near a pace with that of her husband."⁴⁷ Such a statement may have been the result of ill-natured gossip, but we must remember that a young woman married with all the informality of the Fleet, may not have been entirely free from cause of censure.

Freedom and prosperity went to Churchill's head. He threw off the garb of the church as well as its manners, and appeared in a "blue coat with metal buttons, a gold-laced hat, and ruffles."⁴⁸ Thereupon Dr. Zachary Pearce, Dean of Westminster, remonstrated with him not only on account of *The Rosciad*, but also on account of his dress. No longer forced by poverty to obey his superiors, the satirist failed to mend his ways. On January 4, 1763, he was forced to resign from his church.⁴⁹ Robert Lloyd wrote an epigram upon this incident:

To Churchill the bard cries the Westminster Dean,
Leather breeches, white-stockings, pray what do you mean?
'Tis shameful, irrev'rent—you must keep to church rules.
"If wise ones I will—and if not, they're for fools.
If reason don't bind me, I'll shake off all fetters,
To be black and all black I shall leave to my betters."

(Tooke, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 185.)

It would seem that Churchill was a man of many acquaintances but few friends. His Bohemian life scandalized the outwardly decorous, and drew upon him a hot fire of criticism. He answered his detractors in *Night: an*

⁴⁷ Andrew Kippis; with the assistance of the Rev. Joseph Towers, LL.D., and other gentlemen. *Biographia Britannica: or the Lives of the Most Eminent Persons who have Flourished in Great Britain and Ireland*, etc. The second edition. London, 1784, vol. III, p. 572.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 571.

⁴⁹ *Notes and Queries*, 8th Series, vol. IV, p. 295.

Epistle to Robert Lloyd, November, 1761.⁵⁰ This was a work by no means so popular as *The Rosciad*. His chief point of attack was the hypocritical code of morality which his enemies followed.

His next work was *The Ghost*, a poem based upon the famous incident in Cock Lane, made famous by Doctor Johnson's participation in it. The first two books appeared in March, 1762.⁵¹ Before September, 1762, when the third book appeared, Churchill had begun work upon *The North Briton* with Wilkes. In this remarkable man he found a boon companion and a hero.

The first number of *The North Briton* appeared Saturday, June 5, 1762; the paper continued through forty-five numbers until April 23, 1763—the date of the famous number 45—a continuous succession of attacks upon the king's favorite, Lord Bute, and his henchmen. Whatever part of the paper Churchill wrote, his satiric spirit pervades the whole. Forster is right, however, in saying, "He could sharpen his arrowheads well, but without the help of verse could not wing them on their way."⁵² He needed the quick turn of epigrammatic verse to make his points clear-cut and effective. Hence it is not surprising that he began writing political satire in verse, while Wilkes ranted and declaimed in *The North Briton*.⁵³

The first satire after Churchill's alliance with Wilkes was *The Prophecy of Famine: a Scots Pastoral*, inscribed

⁵⁰ *The Critical Review*, vol. XII, pp. 370-372 (November, 1761). *The Dictionary of National Biography* wrongly gives the date as January, 1762.

⁵¹ *D. N. B.* (Churchill). They are reviewed in April, *Monthly Review*, vol. XXVI, pp. 313-315.

⁵² Forster, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 253.

⁵³ Cf. my article, *The Political Satires of Charles Churchill*, in *Studies in Philology*, October, 1919.

to John Wilkes, Esq., and published in January, 1763.⁵⁴ It expressed the ardent hatred that the poet felt for the Scotch, a hatred, moreover, that displayed itself, if we may believe Kippis, in an even more ludicrous form than in satiric verse. Kippis says, "I remember well, that he dressed his younger son in a Scotch plaid, like a little Highlander and carried him everywhere in that garb. The boy being asked by a gentleman with whom I was in company, why he was cloathed [*sic*] in such manner, answered, with great vivacity: 'Sir, my father hates the Scotch, and does it to plague them!'"⁵⁵

On account of their opposition to the Scotch, and especially to Bute and his followers, Churchill and Wilkes became involved in two important political quarrels, one with William Hogarth, the other with the government. Both were caused by differences in party, and were furthered by the freedom with which *The North Briton* attacked everything connected with Bute.

In September, 1762, in spite of a warning from Wilkes, Hogarth published a political print called *The Times*, number 1, an attack upon Pitt.⁵⁶ In number 17 of *The North Briton*, September 25, 1762,⁵⁷ Wilkes replied by a satiric paper against Hogarth.

For a time Hogarth made no answer, but his opportunity came after the appearance of number 45 of *The North Briton*, which attacked the speech of King George before Parliament, April 19, 1763. During Wilkes's

⁵⁴ *The Gentleman's Magazine*, xxxiii, p. 47; *The London Chronicle* (xiii, p. 91) mentions a new edition, Jan. 25, 1763.

⁵⁵ Kippis, *op. cit.*, p. 571. (The original passage was incorrectly punctuated as a question.)

⁵⁶ T. Wright, *Caricature History of the Georges*. . . London, 1868, p. 268.

⁵⁷ *The North Briton*, vol. I, pp. 154 ff., incorrectly dated May 21, 1762.

trial, Hogarth was present at the second appearance in Westminster Hall, and, in revenge for his treatment, drew a caricature of the prisoner. Churchill came at once to his friend's defence in *The Epistle to William Hogarth* which he published in July, 1763.⁵⁸ Hogarth thereupon published a print, *The Bruiser, C. Churchill*.⁵⁹

When Wilkes was arrested, Churchill narrowly escaped a similar fate. While Wilkes was talking with the king's messengers who were armed with general warrants, his friend entered the room. Wilkes, thinking that perhaps the messengers did not know Churchill by sight, said, with remarkable presence of mind:

"Good morrow, Mr. Thomson. How does Mrs. Thomson do to-day? Does she dine in the country?"⁶⁰

Churchill acting immediately upon the suggestion, made a suitable reply, went home, collected his papers, and left London for a less dangerous place. There is considerable confusion in the accounts of his life at this time. Tooke says that together with a Miss Carr whom he had seduced early in 1763, he went into Wales and stayed a few weeks in Monmouth during the summer of 1763. On August 3, 1763, he wrote to Wilkes, who was in Paris, saying that he was full of work and living soberly. "I enjoy health—and could, I believe, answer a bill on sight to any woman—but my wife."⁶¹ He mentions his desire to write an elegy upon Hogarth, supposing him to be dead, but adds, ". . . tells me with a kiss he will be really dead before

⁵⁸ *The Gentleman's Magazine* for 1763, p. 363 (July). Cf. also *London Chronicle*, vol. XIV, p. 6.

⁵⁹ Cf. note 53.

⁶⁰ *Letters between the Duke of Grafton, etc., and John Wilkes, Esq. with Explanatory Notes*. In two volumes. London, 1769, vol. I, pp. 240-241.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 309.

it comes out, that I have already killed him, &c. How sweet is flattery from the woman we love, and how weak is our boasted strength when opposed to beauty and good sense with good nature?"⁶² A little later he says, "The Post Chaise waits, and Charlotte cries, Away."⁶³ Churchill apparently wrote this letter from London or nearby, for he sends messages from several of Wilkes's friends whom he could scarcely have seen had he been in Monmouth. Who the woman was we cannot tell—perhaps Miss Carr, perhaps another. If it was Miss Carr, however, Churchill was probably staying at her father's house; for, as we shall see, it is impossible that their flight from London could have taken place before November, 1763.

Wilkinson, the actor, says that on August 20, 1763, Mr. Churchill was in the balcony of the theatre with Lucy Cooper, a celebrated courtesan.⁶⁴ *The St. James Chronicle* for Tuesday, October 4, 1763, announced that on the preceding day, "Mr. Wilkes, accompanied by Mr. Churchill, set out for Aylesbury: after which they are to wait on Lord Temple at Stowe."⁶⁵ On the preceding Saturday, Churchill was with Wilkes and Granby at the theatre; on October 2, if we may believe the newspaper, he appeared at St. Margaret's Church, Westminster, in his canonicals, and sat in the same pew with Wilkes.⁶⁶

The spies employed by the government to watch Wilkes and Churchill, reported that Churchill came to see Wilkes on Wednesday, November 2, 1763, and stayed an hour

⁶² *Ibid.*, vol. I, pp. 317-318.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 319. The fact that this is an iambic pentameter line suggests that it may be a quotation.

⁶⁴ Tate Wilkinson, *Memoirs of His Own Life*, in four volumes, York, 1790, vol. III, p. 158. Noted by Tooke, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 46-7.

⁶⁵ *The St. James Chronicle* for October 4, 1763. (In the Library of Yale University.)

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, Oct. 6 and 18-20.

and a quarter. Although the records extend until November 13, the poet does not appear in them again. Wilkes visited Churchill's house on the third, and on the fifth stayed an hour and a half at "one Mr. Karr's, at Vauxhall, where Mr. Churchill lodges." The record does not state that Wilkes saw his friend on these visits to his house.⁶⁷

Fitzgerald prints a letter from Wilkes to Churchill, dated from Great-George St., Nov. 3, (1763). He speaks of his fear that Churchill will get into trouble: "I fear much a warrant, signed by the pale Mansfield, beginning the '*thing against Charles Churchill, clerk.*' Then a picture of the said Churchill handing into court his Betsy, who will be ordered back to an angry papa, locked up, etc., and this you can't prevent. The family are in the greatest distress; and you are universally condemned for having made a worthy family unhappy. I except Cotes, your brother, and myself. It is known that you are at Aylesbury: therefore I submit to your Prudence, if you choose to continue there. . . . The father, brother, and a servant went with pistols charged to Kingston Garden, in consequence of an anonymous letter, to have assassinated you."⁶⁸

Churchill replied soon after, laughing at the threats, and saying: "Your advice, and the illness of Mrs. Carr, more than the fears of assassination, brought me to town."⁶⁹

⁶⁷*The Grenville Papers*: being the Correspondence of Richard Grenville Earl Temple, K. G., and the Right Hon: George Grenville, their Friends and Contemporaries. Edited, with Notes, by William James Smith, Esq., in four volumes. London, 1852, vol. II, pp. 155-160.

⁶⁸Percy Fitzgerald, *The Life and Times of John Wilkes, M. P.* Lord Mayor of London, and Chamberlain. In two volumes. London, 1888, vol. I, pp. 187-8.

⁶⁹*Ibid.*, p. 188.

On November 18, 1763, Horace Walpole wrote to the Earl of Hertford as follows:

I forgot to tell you, and you may wonder at hearing nothing of the Reverend Mr. Charles Pylades [Churchill], while Mr. John Orestes [Wilkes] is making such a figure: but Dr. Pylades, the poet, has forsaken his consort and the Muses, and is gone off with a stone-cutter's daughter. If he should come and offer himself to you for chaplain to the embassy! ⁷⁰

Tooke further complicates matters by saying that when Churchill returned from his summer excursion with Miss Carr, he found Lloyd in prison, and helped him out of his difficulties.⁷¹ *The Dictionary of National Biography* in its account of Lloyd says that he began to edit the *St. James Magazine* in September, 1762; that after eighteen months he gave up the editorship to Kenrick; and that soon after he was arrested for debt. This would make his arrest come not earlier than February, 1764. This would not, however, be long after Churchill's return from his excursion in November.

The whole escapade with Miss Carr reflects nothing but discredit upon the poet, and upon Wilkes who apparently abetted him. Upon his return from Aylesbury, Churchill wrote *The Conference*, which he published in November, 1763.⁷² In it he expresses remorse for his sins. His next work was *The Duellist*, published in January, 1764,⁷³ a poem which had as its subject a duel fought between Wilkes and Samuel Martin, in which the former was severely wounded.

⁷⁰ *The Letters of Horace Walpole, Earl of Orford*. Edited by Peter Cunningham. Now first chronologically arranged. In eight volumes. London, 1857, vol. iv, p. 129.

⁷¹ Tooke, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. xlvii.

⁷² *The London Chronicle*, vol. xiv, p. 518.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, vol. xv, p. 74. *D. N. B.* incorrectly gives the date as November, 1763.

There is very little known about Churchill's life between November, 1763, and November, 1764. He helped Lloyd out of his financial difficulties by giving him a weekly allowance, and tried in vain to raise a subscription to pay his debts.⁷⁴ He must have been writing steadily throughout this entire period, for, in December, 1763, he published *The Author*;⁷⁵ in February,⁷⁶ 1764, the first, and March,⁷⁷ the second book of *Gotham*—the third book in August,⁷⁸ 1764. He took revenge in *The Candidate*, May, 1764,⁷⁹ upon Sandwich for his part in the attack on Wilkes. Sandwich, at that time was a candidate for the High-Stewardship of the University of Cambridge. In June, 1764, Churchill published *The Farewell*,⁸⁰ and in September, 1764,⁸¹ *The Times and Independence*. At some time during 1764 he wrote *The Journey*, which appeared in posthumous collections. This completes the list of his published works with the exception of a fragmentary *Dedication to Dr. W. Warburton*, the *Sermons* which appeared in February, 1765,⁸² and two short bits of verse, *The Lines written in Windsor Park*, and a *Paraphrase of Psalm 137*.⁸³

On October 11, 1764,⁸⁴ Churchill wrote to Wilkes, thanking him for several letters and for the introduction

⁷⁴ G. F. Russell Barker, in *D. N. B.* (R. Lloyd).

⁷⁵ *The St. James's Chronicle*, for Dec. 6-8, 1763.

⁷⁶ *The London Chronicle*, xv, p. 175.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, xv, p. 314.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, xvi, p. 148. *D. N. B.* gives incorrect dates for Books II and III, and also for *The Candidate*.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, xv, p. 467.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, xv, p. 576.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, xv, pp. 203 and 325.

⁸² *The Monthly Review*, vol. xxxiii, p. 101.

⁸³ *Notes and Queries*, 1st series, vol. iv, p. 82.

⁸⁴ *Letters between the Duke of Grafton, etc . . . & John Wilkes, Esq.*, vol. i, pp. 332 ff.

to Goy, a young Frenchman with whom he was presently to go to France. He urged Wilkes to return to England as soon as possible. At the end of October he went to France to see his friend, but did not get any further than Boulogne. On Monday, October 29, he was attacked there by scarlet fever,⁸⁵ and died the following Sunday, November 4, 1764, in his thirty-fourth year. When his death was announced, all the English ships at Boulogne struck their colors as a mark of respect.⁸⁶ His body was brought to Dover, and buried in the churchyard of St. Martin's. The inscription on his gravestone reads as follows:

Here lie the remains
of the celebrated
C. Churchill.

Life to the last enjoy'd, *here* Churchill lies.

(*The Candidate*)⁸⁷

In his will, dated November 3, 1764, Churchill gave to his wife an annuity of sixty pounds a year, and to Elizabeth Carr, an annuity of fifty pounds a year. He mentions his two sons, Charles and John.⁸⁸

It is hard, with the few facts at our disposal, to give a fair estimate of the character of Charles Churchill. The main charges that his enemies could bring against him were his immorality and his disloyalty to the church. To the former charge he would of necessity plead guilty. His defection from the church, and his impatience with the religion of his day were not, however, unpardonable sins. At no age was the church of England at a lower spiritual level than during the eighteenth century. Churchill was forced into the church by his father, and got out of it because his parishioners were shocked at his unclerical

⁸⁵ *The Grenville Papers*, vol. II, p. 459.

⁸⁶ *Lloyd's Evening Post and British Chronicle*, vol. xv, p. 477.

⁸⁷ Scott, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 582.

⁸⁸ Tooke, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. ci.

behavior. He wrote because he wanted to live in comfort; he went to the theatre because he enjoyed it. The church was moribund, and the poet was fond of life—of the life of the city with its gay crowds, its roisterers and fair women, its coffee-houses and taverns, its Grub-street and starving authors. He loved all this, yet in his clergyman's gown he could not, without arousing bitter criticism, be an open participant in its pleasures. Hundreds of his fellow-priests were as free-thinking as he, and hundreds led a life in no way more moral than his, but they did not proclaim their sins from the house-top—nor did they write verse that would bring a hundred angry authors buzzing around their heads.

On the other hand, Churchill had great virtues: he was loyal to his friends even when they were in the greatest distress; he was brave under all circumstances; in the main, he avoided attacking men in their private lives. His kindness to Lloyd and his loyalty to Wilkes are sufficient to show the strength of his friendships.

Churchill knew no fear. From 1761 until 1764, he attacked opponents in every walk of life; he made enemies by the score; he gloried in conflict. Yet one can easily understand how his continued defense of his own motives and his unrelenting attack upon the motives of others led to a rather offensive bumptiousness. His parade of the blue coat and gold lace, the autobiographical sketches in his poems, his exaltation of the *ego*, all point to a tendency to boast of his own achievements and to adopt a rough, blustering self-assertiveness toward friend and enemy. This, however, should not cloud the fact that his courage was real. In writing *The North Briton* and his political satires, the poet faced a far greater danger than he had incurred by writing *The Rosciad*. Sandwich would not attack Churchill in the street, but he had the power to set

in motion machinery that would crush him as it had crushed Wilkes. Yet in both *The Duellist* and in *The Candidate*, the satirist attacked Sandwich in most bitter terms.

To understand this pugnacious attitude we must remember that we are dealing with a man of the people. Until he left the church, he was always discontented with his lot. When his first satire succeeded, he was like a new millionaire, anxious to display his wealth and to show his independence of convention. Hence the blue coat and gold-lace. He became well-known, to be sure, but a puny bard like Whitehead was laureate, and, although Churchill lauded Pitt, he could not win a place among the leaders of the party. Nor could he enter the circle over which Johnson presided; his boon companions were a profligate demagogue and a third-rate poet. His only recourse, therefore, was to rail at those with whom he could not be a friend, to glory in the discomfort of men whom he considered his inferiors in genius, yet who had risen to high place by influence, by wealth, or by corruption.

For Churchill, in spite of his profligacy and pugnacity, cannot be accused of dishonesty or deception. What he did, he did openly. He scorned those who were saints in the eyes of the world and monsters in their private lives. He sneered at men like Smollett and Murphy, who accepted money to defend Bute. He was doubtless influenced in his political views more by love of Wilkes than by love for the Opposition, but however this may be, it would be difficult for us to imagine him as a defender of George III. He was of the people, and his was their voice: it was raised in defence of those liberties which for centuries Englishmen had held dear.

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XIV.—THE CONTENDING LOVERS

*The Contending Lovers*¹ is a folk-tale of love rivalry—but of love rivalry with a difference. Because it has certain uncommon distinctions, among them a provocative love problem which is usually left wholly unsolved, I have previously attempted to show in brief fashion its affinity with Chaucer's *Parlement of Foules*² and to prove by

¹The name is chosen after some consideration. Benfey in his famous *Ausland* essay (*Ausland*, 1858, pp. 969 ff.; *Kleinere Schriften* II, iii, pp. 94 ff.) calls one type of the tale "*Das Märchen von den Menschen mit den wunderbaren Eigenschaften*," a denomination which has the decided disadvantage of not fitting all types. The lovers as we shall find them are not always men of skill or wonderful gifts. Wesselofsky (*Il Paradiso degli Alberti*, I, ii, p. 240) speaks of "*quel ciclo leggendario che noi diciamo dei fratelli artisti*," laying himself open to the objection that the lovers are not always brothers and not always artificers. Therefore I submit *The Contending Lovers* as indicating more accurately an important and distinctive feature, namely the striving of the suitors both by deed and by argument for the hand of the desired maiden.

²*The Sources of Chaucer's "Parlement of Foules," Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XXXII (1917), pp. 492 ff.; *The Fowls in Chaucer's Parlement, University of Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature*, no. 2 (1918), pp. 341 ff.

especial reference to *Il Paradiso degli Alberti*,³ a work out of Chaucer's own period, that the *Parlement* should be regarded as a poetical and highly sophisticated version of the folk-tale. But the curious and interesting features of *The Contending Lovers* will support a self-sufficient study in folk-lore, and such a study is primarily the aim of the following pages. The *Parlement* will occasionally be admitted to the discussion, especially in conclusion, since relationship to Chaucer necessarily gives the folk-tale itself an enhanced interest, but only casual arguments will be made for this relationship. The material, now studied in detail,⁴ is meant to form its own argument.

The similarities between the *Parlement* and Giovanni da Prato's tale of the founding of Prato in *Il Paradiso degli Alberti* have already been sufficiently exploited. Moreover, both Chaucer and Giovanni tell such sophisticated elaborations that a neglect to discuss them systematically in this study of the simpler folk versions does small violence to good order.

³ *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XXXII, pp. 495 ff.

⁴ Much material has become available since Benfey's *Ausland* essay (see note 1) and Wesselofsky's notes to the tale of the founding of Prato (*Il Paradiso degli Alberti*, Bologna, 1867, I, ii, pp. 238 ff.). Valuable as both works are, no attempt is made by either of these scholars to distinguish or study types, and Benfey confines his study largely to one type. In addition to these two treatments there are convenient collections of notes or scattered presentations of material in Clouston, *Popular Tales and Fictions*, 1887, I, pp. 277 ff.; D'Ancona, *Studj di Critica e Storia Letteraria*, Bologna, 1912, revised and enlarged edition, II, pp. 160 ff.; Köhler, *Kleinere Schriften*, I, pp. 438 ff.; Chauvin, *Bibliographie des Ouvrages Arabes*, 1892-1909, VI, p. 133, note 3, and VIII, p. 76; Basset, *Revue des Traditions Populaires*, VII (1892), p. 188, note 4; Cosquin, *Revue des Traditions Populaires*, XXXI (1916), pp. 98 ff., and 145 ff. Bolte und Polivka, *Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- u. Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm*, Band III, 1918, which was delayed by the war and has but recently become available, furnishes by far the best and most exhaustive collection of notes. (No. 129, pp. 45-58.)

I

ORIENTAL ORIGINS

From first to last *The Contending Lovers* is rightfully a problem tale, and yet its peculiar ending has never been duly emphasized. The plot is sometimes simple, sometimes complex, but it always deals with the almost equal claims to a maiden by a number of suitors. However the claims may be brought into being—and their foundations are extremely varied—they are always so nearly alike in merit that a contention arises among the lovers. Frequently a judge or even the maiden herself cannot decide the dispute, and thus there is provocation to discussion on the part of the audience, which, when all is said and done, seems to be the point of the story.

The hoax is made plain, as will be seen, by the Oriental story frameworks which incorporate the earliest recorded versions. Like so many stories which have been adopted by Europe *The Contending Lovers* was, so far as is known, born in India, and from its birthplace travelled a well recognized route, first appearing in Sanskrit, then in Persian, then in Arabic, and finally in European languages. Oldest are four versions in the famous Sanskrit *Vetāla-panchavinsati* (*Twenty-five Tales of a Demon*), which are even here differentiated as four separate types, and which later produce a numerous progeny in kind. These stories form part of the traditions gathered together in the *Vetāla-panchavinsati* and other compilations around that King Arthur of India, the Rajah Vikramāditya, who was a historical king of the first century B. C.¹ The *Āivadāsa* re-

¹ For brief information see Babington, *The Vedāla Cadai*, 1831 (*Misc. Trs. from Oriental Langs.*), Preface, p. iv; *Sagas from the Far East*, 1873, p. 245; Oesterley, *Baitāl Pachisi*, 1873, Einleitung, p. 2.

daction of the *Vetālapanchavinsati*² may be dated by internal evidence as probably of the sixth century after Christ,³ but its tales were no doubt old when collected, and originally may have had nothing to do with Vikramāditya.

From the most ancient collections built around the heroic figure of Vikramāditya⁴ we shall trace occurrences of our folk-tale in rough chronological order through Persian and Arabic works; important versions which have severed the traditional connection with Vikramāditya will appear in the Persian *Tūti-Nāma*, the Persian *Sindibād-Nāma* or *Book of Sindibād*, and the Arabic *Thousand and One Nights*.

THE *Vetāla* VERSIONS

The framework of the *Vetālapanchavinsati* demonstrates that four divergent versions of *The Contending Lovers* were very early problem stories pure and simple. The problems they offered were never meant to be fully settled. Room for discussion was always to be left open. Every tale in the *Vetāla* collection is so unsatisfactorily and tantalizingly concluded that it will make the character to whom it is told break a silence which it is greatly to his

² A text of the *Vetālapanchavinsati* has been constituted by Uhle based largely on the *Īvadāsa* redaction (*Die Vetālapāñcavīṇṣatikā, in den Recensionen des Īvadāsa und eines Ungenannten*, von Heinrich Uhle, Leipzig, 1881). However, the tales are not fully translated and those which have been translated are to be found in scattered places. The first six, the eighth, and the twelfth are accessible in translations into European languages. (See notes to tales given in following pages.) The Hindi *Baitāl Pachisi*, however, includes all the *Vetāla* tales and has been translated into English and German.

³ Oesterley, *Baitāl Pachisi*, Einleitung, p. 3.

⁴ The *Vetāla* tales are also part of the more modern Sanskrit collection *Kathā-Sarit-Sāgara*. The *Siddhi-Kūr* is a Mongolian *Vetāla* redaction, and among Indian dialect versions are the Tamil *Vedāla Cadai* and the Hindi *Baitāl Pachisi*.

interest to keep. The vehicle which carries the tales is this: ⁵

Vikramāditya is a powerful king, and about his throne, which is called Sinhāsana, wise men and famous gather. On a certain day a Yogi, Cāntiṇḍa by name, comes to the king's castle, and after pleasing him greatly by a gift of fruits in each of which is contained a marvellous jewel, obtains the king's promise to help him in some incantations which will gain power over spirits. The king keeps a *rendez-vous* with the sorcerer, who sends him to a spot where dead bodies are burned, telling him that on a certain tree he will find a corpse hanging. This he must cut down and bring back with him, being careful not to speak, however, or the body will go back and suspend itself once more on its tree. Then his work will be to do all over again. The king finds the corpse, climbs the tree, and cuts it down. Throwing it over his shoulder, he starts to return, but within the body there is a *Vetāla* or demon, who speaks to the king and proposes to make the journey less wearisome by telling stories.⁶

The *Vetāla* tells twenty-five tales in all, and at the conclusion of each tale except the last the king immediately breaks silence to give a decision or opinion on the problem raised by the narration. The demon then goes back to the tree. After the twenty-fifth tale, the king is so perplexed with the problem that he cannot find an answer. The *Vetāla* then tells the king that his ready wit has so pleased him that he will warn him of harm intended by the Yogi. Following the *Vetāla's* instructions, the king kills the Yogi on his return, and is assured a successful and happy reign for many years thereafter.

The first version of *The Contending Lovers* is the second tale of the collection: ⁷

⁵ See *Der Vetālapancaviṅśati, oder fünfundzwanzig erzählungen eines Daemon*, erster Teil, tr. A. Luber, Gorz, 1875, pp. 14 ff. The Hindi *Baitāl Pachisi* will be used to supplement direct translations from the Sanskrit. The minor variations in the tales which it gives are of small importance for our purposes. The *Baitāl* has been translated into English by W. Burckhardt Barker, Hertford, 1855.

⁶ The introduction is fuller and slightly different in the *Baitāl Pachisi*, where we are given more traditional matter about King Vikramāditya, or Bikram, as he is here called. For variations in introduction among other versions of the *Vetāla* collection see Oesterley, work cited, pp. 171 ff.

⁷ I summarize from a French translation of the *Çivadāsa* redaction: *La Jeune Fille et les Trois Brahmanes*, tr. Victor Henry from Uhle's text, *Rev. des Trad. Pop.*, 1 (1886), pp. 370 ff.

A brahman named Kēcava has a daughter justly famed for her beauty. Three brahmans ask her in marriage, and they are of such equal merit that the father is much perplexed to know how he shall decide among them. However, the maiden suddenly dies by the bite of a serpent. The lovers are stricken with grief. One mounts the pyre and is consumed along with the body of his beloved. The second constructs a small hut in the cemetery and guards the tomb in which the ashes are placed. The third makes a vow of asceticism and departs for another country.

On his travels, the third lover stops with a brahman and his wife who offer him their hospitality. He is horrified to see the woman throw her child into the fire for a trifling offense. However, he is reassured when the father produces a book out of which he reads a formula that soon restores the child to life. At night the lover steals away with the book. When he has reached the cemetery, he tries the formula, and finds it efficacious in bringing to life both the girl and the lover who had died on her pyre.

Thereupon the three brahmans in angry fashion dispute for the hand of the girl.⁸

When he has finished his relation, the demon says, "O roi, parle, de qui doit-elle être l'épouse?" The king makes answer, "écoute: celui qui a ressuscité la jeune fille est son père, puisqu'il lui a donné la vie; celui qui est mort avec elle est son frère, puisqu'il est né avec elle; celui qui doit l'épouser c'est celui qui a gardé sa tombe."

The demon then escapes and returns to hang himself on his tree.

This is an excellent example of an early subdivision in the general class of contending lover tales, namely, that in which the services of the striving lovers procure a resuscitation of the maiden. The descendants of this type are numerous. Very often the resuscitated maiden is not dead but dying.

The second version of our tale is the fifth of the collection:⁹

⁸ In Luber's translation we have a variant version (II. Erzählung, pp. 25 ff.). The lovers are four. A dies on the funeral pyre, B gathers the ashes and holds watch over them, C travels as a religious man, D goes back to his home and does nothing. The *Baitāl* has three lovers, but the first and second divide the custody of the ashes, and the first does not die. Henry translates still another variant with three lovers in *Rev. des Trad. Pop.*, I, pp. 372 ff.

⁹ Translated by Benfey, *Kleinere Schriften*, II, iii, pp. 96 ff., and

Haridāsa, the minister of King Mahābala, has a daughter named Mahādevī, who is exceedingly beautiful and has just reached marriageable age. But the girl demands, "Father, give me only to someone who possesses an unrivalled natural gift." While he is off in another country transacting diplomatic business, Haridāsa finds a suitor who seems in every way acceptable. Meanwhile the eldest brother of the girl, and also the mother, find acceptable young brahmans. All three suitors have been definitely promised the hand of the maiden. One has a chariot ready to his instant command which will go anywhere through the air. The second has the art of divination. The third is an exceptionally skilful marksman with bow and arrow.

The brahmans have already commenced an argument among themselves as to their rights to the girl under the promises made to them, when she is abducted by a *Rākshasa*, or evil spirit, and carried away to a mountain. The man of knowledge has no trouble in learning just where the maid has been taken. The owner of the chariot volunteers its use to the marksman, and the latter succeeds in killing the *Rākshasa* and rescuing the maid. Strife now ensues between the suitors as to their new claims, and there is deep perplexity on the part of the father, who is called upon to pass judgment.

The *Vetāla* asks King Vikramāditya for an opinion, and the king decides that the man of knowledge should possess the maid. On the *Vetāla's* protesting that all the suitors have gifts of equal worth, the king replies that the man of knowledge has six natural gifts which would make him feared by the gods themselves.¹⁰

This version too is the early representative of a type. It is distinguished by the rescue of a captured maiden which the lovers accomplish by means of natural gifts, or magic things such as the chariot.

The third tale of contending lovers is the sixth of the *Vetāla* collection. Although it does not belong to the group which has had most influence on European folk-literature,

also by Luber. The *Baitāl* is remarkably close to the Sanskrit version.

¹⁰ "Eifer, Muth und Geduld, Stärke, Weisheit und hohe Tapferkeit, wer über diese sechs Gaben herrscht, den fürchten die Götter selbst," translates Benfey (see p. 98).

and although it may seem at first to be somewhat outside the well-defined class under consideration, it has undeniable relation to the problem tales in which a loved one is the subject of dispute. It is as follows:¹¹

A washerman goes to the temple of the goddess Devī, and there sees and is smitten with love for the daughter of the king's washerman. He vows to the goddess on the spur of the moment that if he can obtain her to wife, he will offer his own head as a sacrifice. A friend takes pity on him because of his love-longing, acts as go-between, and succeeds in bringing the marriage to pass. As bridegroom and friend are taking the bride home after the ceremony, they pass the temple of Devī, and the bridegroom is suddenly reminded of his vow. He leaves his wife and his friend by the roadside, enters, and without more ado decapitates himself. After a time his friend begins to wonder at his delay, and leaving the wife, finds the other weltering in his blood. He is obsessed by fear that suspicion will attach to him, and cuts off his head. The bride soon finds the two corpses, and is about to strangle herself when the goddess speaks and bids her replace the heads on the bodies. This she starts to do, but in her joyful haste she mixes the heads, and places the wrong ones on the bodies. A dispute arises.

To which combination of head and body does the woman belong as wife, asks the *Vetāla*? The king decides that she belongs to the husband's head, since of all parts of the body, the head is the best.¹²

Of all the versions of *The Contending Lovers* in the *Vetāla* collection the most interesting for purposes of comparison with the *Paradiso* and the *Parlement of Foules* is the seventh tale told to King Vikramāditya: ¹³

King Champakeshwar of the city of Champapur has a daughter named Tribhuvan who is beautiful beyond description. When it is known that the king and queen are considering marriage for their daughter, monarchs of all kingdoms round about cause their por-

¹¹ Translated by Benfey, *Orient und Occident*, I (1862), pp. 730 ff.

¹² The version in the *Baitāl Pachisi* is the same in all essential details.

¹³ I summarize from the *Baitāl Pachisi*, tr. Barker, 1855, pp. 157 ff., Oesterley has had the chance to compare the *Baitāl* version with a summary of the *Vetāla* tale, and finds little difference between the two.

traits to be submitted to the maid. But she is not pleased with any one of them. Then the father says, "Make choice of a husband thyself." She answers that she must have a husband who is at once the happy possessor of good looks, good qualities, and good sense. Four suitors from different countries present themselves before the king and make their claims.

The first says, "I can make a certain cloth which I sell for five rubies," and explains to what use he puts his gains. "My good looks are apparent," he modestly concludes.

The second says, "I understand the language of water and land animals, of birds and of beasts, and I have no equal in strength; of my comeliness you may yourself judge."

The third claims perfect knowledge of the Shāstras and an obviously handsome mien.

The fourth also claims unique knowledge of the Shāstras, and declares that furthermore he has the art of discharging arrows and hitting anything which is heard though not seen. Like the others, he claims self-evident comeliness.

The father hears the speeches of the four, and begins to reflect, "The four are equal in excellence and attainments,—to which shall I give the maiden?" He goes to the daughter, explains the situation, and asks her to decide for herself. She is abashed, and, hanging down her head, does not know what to reply.

In answer to the demon's question King Vikramāditya decides the problem wholly on the basis of caste. He says, "He who made the cloth and sold it was the Shūdr caste, and he who understood the language of animals was a Vaishya, and he who was acquainted with the Shāstras was a brahman, and he who would discharge an arrow which should hit what was heard though not seen was of the same caste as herself, and she was therefore, a fitting wife for him."

The class relationship of all four stories just summarized, with the exception of the story of the exchanged heads, is apparent. A composite summary of them would be something after this sort: Three or four youths of noble rank sue for the hand of a well-born maiden, and although each supports a well-founded claim to his loved one, he cannot convince the father that he is the one to be favored above the others. The father finally leaves the question unsettled. In the story of the exchanged heads there is a contention between parts of a lover instead of

between several lovers, but the general situation is similar to that in the other three tales.

Thus early in our contact with *The Contending Lovers* we are certain that the indecisive ending is an organic part of the structure. The very plan and purpose of the *Vetāla* collection precludes the telling of a tale about the interpretation of which there could not be a possible difference of opinion. The *Vetālapanchavinsati* is a most clever collection of hoaxes from beginning to end, and an admirable climax is the twenty-fifth tale, which tells of a king who marries a princess and of the king's son who marries the queen, mother of the father's wife. It is not to be wondered that the ready King Vikramāditya at last finds himself nonplussed when the *Vetāla* asks what relationship exists between the children of the two royal pairs; this is a poser which might well give pause to a modern court of law.

Strangely enough, this characteristic hoax feature of our tale has been hardly considered at all by those who have discussed its versions. Benfey makes suggestive comparisons between types of lovers and their services in the tales he has collected, but deals only in a casual way with the indecisive ending.¹⁴ Wesselofsky in his summaries sometimes slights the endings, apparently taking the stories as complete for his purposes of comparison when he has traced the lovers through the different sorts of service which they perform.¹⁵ Clouston also does not seem to regard the story as having any characteristic ending. For instance, he summarizes the tale from *Siddhi-Kūr* and omits to mention the strife between the lovers and the opinion passed by King Vikramāditya.¹⁶

¹⁴ See the *Ausland* essay already referred to.

¹⁵ See *Paradiso*, I, ii, pp. 238 ff.

¹⁶ Clouston, *Popular Tales and Fictions*, I, pp. 288 ff.

The seventh tale of the *Vetālapanchavinsati*, the last just summarized, has one sharp and important line of demarcation from the other tales. While in the first two tales dealing with contending lovers, the Resuscitation and Rescue tales, a large part of the claims preferred by the lovers are based on service performed for the maiden, here there is no service done for the maiden. The arguments made by the lovers, and the later decision by King Vikramāditya, which is really outside the true confines of the story, are concerned with unapplied accomplishments, and Vikramāditya's judgment is based wholly on caste or nobility.

The importance attached to arguments dealing with the nobility of the suitors in the *Parlement of Foules* and in the *Paradiso* bears resemblance to the emphasis on caste in the *Vetāla* tale. Especially striking is the likeness of the argument used by Mars in the *Paradiso* (namely, that his *protégé* and Melissa are both of warrior stock)¹⁷ to the argument of King Vikramāditya that the lover of warrior caste is the only suitor who should rightfully marry the maiden.

In the *Vetāla* tales where service is performed we have some sort of argument by the lovers implied in the dispute which arises after their performances. But only in the seventh tale do we find a definite set of pleadings held before a judge and a schematic set of claims made by each lover. The judge is, of course, the king, father of the princess. This court scene seems to represent the beginnings of a later elaborate conception. A degree of sophistication has magnified to large proportions the court and the pleadings before the judge in Giovanni da Prato and Chaucer.

¹⁷ *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, xxxii, p. 499.

A most noteworthy incident in the Caste tale is the perplexity of the father and the final granting of self-choice to the girl. Here is a sufficiently unusual folk-tale feature which caps the climax and makes the resemblance between the *Vetāla* tale and both the *Paradiso* and the *Parlement* very thorough-going.

A justifiable contention that this tale, or, indeed, any other of *The Contending Lovers*, might have had entirely different features outside a collection like the *Vetāla-panchavinsati*, and might have had or have developed a decisive conclusion that was part of the tale proper, is militated against by the appearance of this very seventh *Vetāla* tale in a wholly dissimilar setting within the *Kathā-Sarit-Sāgara* (*The Ocean of the Streams of Story*), the rich twelfth-century compilation of classic tales. All four of the stories of *The Contending Lovers* are here, and they are numbered as in the older collection, with the one exception that *Vetāla* 7 is here the ninth tale.¹⁸ In each tale the number of lovers is as it was before, and very few changes in detail are made. We find a growth in the court feature, which is perhaps the most outstanding and important change. In the later work the lovers in every tale except that of the exchanged heads make set speeches and lay their claims before a judge. Among these tales, then, is the Caste story which we are discussing.¹⁹ But the *Vetāla* cycle of stories is only one small stream flowing into *The Ocean of the Streams of Story*, and we find our Caste tale a second time in this work, now outside the old setting and in a place where there is no need on the part

¹⁸ *Kathā-Sarit-Sāgara*, tr. C. H. Tawney, Calcutta, 1884, II, pp. 242 ff.

¹⁹ Tawney, II, pp. 275 ff. Worthy of note is one change. The man of knowledge has a more definite accomplishment than before, for he can restore dead creatures to life.

of a demon to make a hearer break silence. In its new frame it is called *The Story of Anangarati and Her Four Suitors*.²⁰ The tale has here received some queer twists, and is worth summarizing.

Anangarati is a princess of far-famed beauty who is about to marry. She declares that she must have a husband who is brave and handsome, and who possesses some splendid accomplishment. Four heroes present themselves before the father of the princess. These have accomplishments as in the *Vetāla* tale and declare them in much the same way,²¹ except that the man of knowledge claims to know the art of raising a dead woman to life. The king asks his daughter which suitor she prefers. She finds fault with each; the caste, or the wealth, or the general merit of the man does not suit. She can make no decision. Meanwhile the heroes conduct themselves nobly in the chase and prove great valor. After the king requests that his daughter reconsider and make a choice, an astrologer is called. Hesitatingly he announces that the princess shows conformity of horoscope with none of the heroes, and that she is not to be married on this earth because she is under a curse.

At the end of three months the maid suddenly dies. The brahman lover who can raise women from the dead hastens to apply his skill, but is unsuccessful. Grieving at the loss of the maid and the failure of his powers, he is about to cut off his head, when a voice from the sky tells him not to mourn, for the maid is in Heaven. It bids him propitiate a certain goddess that he may hold hope of winning the maid in another life.

This version shows some mixture of caste and service elements, but the man of knowledge fails to perform the most important service of all. The conception of equal merit among the suitors is drawn out and played with in a significant way; for not only are the claims themselves so much alike that neither the princess nor the king can decide the case, but Heaven itself has mysteriously conformed the maiden's horoscope to that of no suitor, and finally takes her to the realm of bliss apparently to stop the contention. Again the feature of self-choice appears,

²⁰ Tawney, I, pp. 498 ff.

²¹ See summary on p. 255 above.

and is even made more of than in the original *Vetāla* version.

Although this double appearance of the Caste tale in the *Kathā-Sarit-Sāgara* would seem to show that it maintained popularity in India during many centuries, nevertheless it is the tale which soon begins to drop out of other Oriental collections. In the *Vedāla Cadai*, the Tamul *Vetālapanchavinsati*, the story is conspicuous for its absence. The other three tales of *The Contending Lovers* are there, though in a much abbreviated form.²² The arguments of the suitors are only implied, not reproduced and developed as in the *Kathā-Sarit-Sāgara* tales.

Somewhat outside the main group which is to be followed into Europe through Sanskrit, Persian, and Arabic, stands one version of *The Contending Lovers* in the *Siddhi-Kūr*, or Mongolian *Vetāla* stories:²³

There are six youths who are boon companions, a rich man's son, a doctor's son, a painter's son, an accountant's son, a woodcarver's son, and a smith's son. All go out into the world to gain their fortunes, and separate at a place where six streams converge, first, however, placing six "trees of life" at the point of convergence. If one of them shall wither, it will indicate that harm has befallen that youth to whom it belongs.

The rich man's son goes to another land and marries a woman of such beauty that she seems unearthly. But a powerful *chān* takes her away from the youth, and makes her his own wife, eventually commanding his minions to make way with the rich man's son. This is done, and his body is buried beneath a rock. Meanwhile the companions of the youth find the withered tree and set out to follow the stream along which their comrade travelled. The accountant's son makes computations that allow them to find the rock under

²² *The Vedāla Cadai*, tr. B. G. Babington, London, 1831 (*Misc. Trs. from Orient. Langs.*), vol. 1; *Vedāla Cadai* 2 is *Vetāla* 2, *Vedāla Cadai* 4 is *Vetāla* 5, and *Vedāla Cadai* 5 is *Vetāla* 6.

²³ B. Jülg, *Kalmückische Märchen*, Leipzig, 1866, no. 1, pp. 5 ff. The tale is also translated in *Sagas from the Far-East*, London, 1873, no. 9, pp. 105 ff., *Five to One*.

which the dead man is buried, and the smith's son cracks it into bits with his hammer. The physician's son gives the dead man a potion which brings him to life. At once the resuscitated young man bewails the fact that his wife has been ravished from him, and the companions volunteer to help him to recover her. The woodcarver's son constructs a marvellous Garuda-bird, cutting it out of wood and furnishing it with springs which control its flight. The painter's son adorns this so skillfully that when the rich man's son flies in it to the *chān's* palace, the latter is deceived, and thinks it truly to be the heavenly Garuda-bird. He sends the wife up to the roof of the palace to welcome the bird, and the youth takes her into the machine and flies away with her.

But when the companions see the woman, they are consumed with love for her. Each maintains that he has first claim to her because of his contribution to the rescue. Finally the strife leads to the drawing of knives, and between them they cut the woman into bits.

The tale is in a framework very similar to that which holds the *Vetāla* stories,²⁴ but when the demon in this case has finished his narration, the king breaks silence merely to express pity for the woman. That this particular type of *The Contending Lovers* dealing with a rescue has gone through many changes since it has left India, and that it has in the course of its travels to the Mongols picked up some new material from the general stock of folk-lore, is at once apparent. The trees of life, or their counterparts,²⁵ are found in stories which can have had nothing to do at any time with *The Contending Lovers*.

The tale in the *Siddhi-Kūr* has been made more complicated, and in a sense its problem has been debased, by the changes which have been made in the number and character of the lovers. Where we have hitherto found lovers of noble blood, we now find artisans and sons of the people. Nobility and caste now, of course, have no bearing

²⁴ *Siddhi-Kūr* means a dead body endowed with supernatural powers, substantially a demon like the *Vetāla*.

²⁵ Sometimes knives are stuck in the trees to indicate by rust harm to the owners.

at all upon the suits preferred by the youths. Increasing the number of lovers is a simple method of increasing interest by adding material. The whole tale shows evidences at different points of fusion between *The Contending Lovers* and other folk-tales.

Nevertheless, the classification of the version is not difficult, for in all essentials it belongs to the Rescue type of *The Contending Lovers*. The powerful *chān* takes the place of the monster which abducts the girl in the old *Vetāla* Rescue tale. The general character of changes due to Mongolian influence has been well pointed out by Benfey.²⁶

VERSIONS IN THE *Throne* COLLECTIONS

A second general cycle of tales clustering around the hero-king Vikramāditya is supposed to be told by different spirits residing in Vikramāditya's throne many years after his death. No tale of *The Contending Lovers* appears in the Sanskrit redaction, and but one is to be found in the Mongolian. In the Persian, however, are four well developed and artistically told versions, one of a type that has not been met before. With the *Thronsagen*, as with the *Vetāla* stories, we are dealing with folk-lore which is difficult to date, but which doubtless is very old.

Although the Sanskrit *Sinhāsana-dvātrinsati* (*Thirty-two Tales of a Throne*) affords no tale of *The Contending Lovers* in either the Jainica recension²⁷ or the Bengali translation known as the *Batris-Sinhasan*,²⁸ yet it does offer certain elements which may be used to explain the acquisition of the tales of contending lovers by the later redactions. The framework of the cycle is simple in the

²⁶ *Ausland* essay, *Kleinere Schriften*, II, iii, pp. 103 ff.

²⁷ Tr. A. Weber, *Indische Studien*, xv (1878), pp. 134 ff.

²⁸ Tr. Léon Feer, Paris, 1883.

earliest form we know, and changes very little as it is reworked. In the Sanskrit it is briefly this:

King Bhoja finds the throne of his glorious predecessor Vikramāditya and wishes to ascend it, but is hindered on thirty-two attempts, each time by a spirit who dwells in one of the thirty-two statues decorating the throne. He is told that Vikramāditya pleased the gods by his wonderful reign, and that the throne was buried at his death. Each time the new king tries to ascend the throne he is told a story about its first possessor intended to show how wonderful that monarch was and how unworthy he, the new aspirant, is of occupying the hero's seat. Finally the spirits depart, having fulfilled their mission of instruction, and Bhoja ascends the throne.

Naturally this framework by its associations with Vikramāditya might draw over to it some of the *Vetāla* tales.

But the amusing and popular tale of lovers' contention found in the *Ardschi-Bordschi-Chān*,²⁰ the Mongolian collection of the *Throne* stories, is not one of those in the *Vetālapanchavinsati*:

Ardschi-Bordschi learns that in a certain place the haughty and beautiful anchoress Naran-Chatun sits in silence, and that whoever can make her speak twice may gain her as his wife. The *chān* goes to her with four companions, whom by magic power he transforms into articles in and around the altar of Naran-Chatun. Then he tells two problem stories, and each time his companions disgust the anchoress so much by their discussion of the problem that she delivers her own opinion, and breaks silence. One of these stories is our tale:

Four youths of four tribes go to mind their flocks. During the weary watches one passes the time by hewing the figure of a woman out of wood, and leaves it where he has made it. The second youth finds it and paints it in life-like colors, also going away and leaving his work. The third endows it with wit and understanding, and the fourth, thinking it a pity that such a creation should remain nothing but wood, touches his lips to those of the statue and breathes into the figure the breath of life, making it a woman capable of loving. Now each youth claims the woman for his own, and the dispute is taken to the king for decision.

²⁰ B. Jülg, *Mongolische Märchen-Sammlung*, 1868, pp. 238 ff. Also in *Sagas from the Far East*, 1873, pp. 298 ff.

After the narration of the above tale the objects around Naran-Chatun's altar argue the case, and each upholds the claims of a lover. Naran-Chatun finally declares for the fourth suitor.

An entirely new form of *The Contending Lovers*, which we may designate the *Creation type*, here comes to light for the first time. Whether or not it is as old as the other types we cannot say, nor can we say for certain how it reached the Mongols. Probably, however, it is as much a native of India as those versions found in the *Vetāla-panchavinsati*, for it appears in collections in other Oriental languages which certainly draw material from India. One of these compilations is the *Senguehassen-Battissi*, to which we shall now turn.

The Persian *Senguehassen-Battissi* has substantially the same frame to hold its thirty-two tales as the Sanskrit *Throne* collection. King Bhoja, the aspirant to Vikramāditya's throne, becomes the Rajah Béhoudje, and the tales are told to him by thirty-two genies. The four versions of *The Contending Lovers* are in a frame within a frame, very much as in the *Ardschi-Bordschi-Chân*, and together form the tenth tale of the work:³⁰

The Rajah Békermadjiet (Vikramāditya) goes to the palace of a famous queen and wins her for another love-sick rajah by making her break silence four times in one night. To do this the rajah tells four stories. After each relation he asks the lamp, or the queen's girdle, or some one of the other articles in which one of his friendly genies are residing what it thinks of the problem raised by the tale. Invariably the queen is dissatisfied with the answer given and passes her own opinion, roundly berating the article for its foolish judgment.

The first of Békermadjiet's tales is a Rescue version of *The Contending Lovers*. It is substantially the same tale

³⁰ Tr. Baron Lescailler, *Le Trône Enchanté*, New York, 1817, I, pp. 177 ff.

as the Rescue version in the *Vetālapanchavinsati*, for the lovers possess the same accomplishments and prosecute their rescue in the same way, except that a magic horse takes the place of a magic chariot. But a very noteworthy change is the addition of the episode of self-choice, which is found only in the Caste tale of the *Vetāla* collection. Moreover, the maid asks time to make this choice. The exact words of the translation are these: "Le marchand fit part à sa fille des propositions, et des différens talens des trois jeunes gens qui prétendoient à sa main; elle demanda jusqu'au lendemain pour faire connoître sa réponse."³¹

The opportunity to suggest a comparison of this with the formel's request for delay in the *Parlement of Foules* is irresistible.

The second tale told by Békermadjiet to the queen is that of the mixed heads. It is almost the same story as that in the *Vetālapanchavinsati*. At its conclusion the queen's girdle expresses the opinion that the woman is rightfully the wife of the body, and the queen angrily declares for the head as the seat of understanding.

The third tale is a Resuscitation version:

When a girl's corpse is being borne to the burial ground, one suitor obtains permission to raise the covering on the bier and take one last look at the loved one. The second suitor, a physician, approaches and discovers signs of life. He proposes ceremonies that will restore the girl to full health, and the third suitor carries these out. An argument follows, and each suitor presents his claims before the parents.

At Békermadjiet's question the vase decides for the man who raised the covering of the bier, and the queen then breaks silence a third time to say that anyone of understanding can see that the girl belongs to the suitor who performed the resuscitation ceremonies. Her reasons are that the first suitor is already recompensed by the

³¹ Lescailler, I, pp. 191-2.

sight of the girl, and that the second is rewarded by the reputation arising from his having prescribed the cure, whereas the third youth can only be rewarded by the girl herself.

Instead of collecting the maiden's ashes as in the *Vetāla-panchavinsati*, the lover who makes the resuscitation possible here performs a service that is even more fortuitous by raising the covering on the bier. It is through no skill or forethought on his part that the maiden is found to show signs of life.

The fourth and last tale told to the queen is of the Creation type. This version of the wooden woman story is more expanded than that in the *Ardschī-Bordschī-Chān*, and a few changes have been made. The painter has become a jeweler, and the man who gives wit and understanding has become a clothier. Certainly it would be highly interesting to know where the Creation type joined our stories. The other three tales of *The Contending Lovers* in the Persian show clearly a close relation to Indian sources, though, as it happens, not to the Indian *Throne* stories, but to the *Vetāla*. It is highly probable that there was a Sanskrit version of the Creation type which we do not now know.

VERSIONS IN THE *Tūti-Nāma*

Our tale now loses all relation with Vikramāditya, and is more or less cleverly fitted into frameworks quite different from those of the *Vetālapanchavinsati* or the *Senguehassen-Battissi*. It has now become well acclimated in Persian territory, and has thus almost completed an important leg of its journey toward Europe.

A Persian story compilation which probably draws material from some of the oldest Indian sources is the *Tūti-Nāma*. It has a Sanskrit prototype in the *Čuka-saptati*, but for the tale of *The Contending Lovers* the

Persian redaction is the one of real importance.³² This furnishes three types of our story, and one of the three is a Creation version, which would seem to have been popular at the time Persian *rifacimenti* of Indian works were in the process of making.

The age and author of the *Çukasaptati* have not been determined. It takes its name (meaning *The Seventy Tales of a Parrot*) from the supposed telling of the stories to a woman by a parrot, and the framework is fundamentally the same for both Sanskrit and Persian works. A merchant goes away on a journey, and the wife immediately allows her thoughts to turn to the joys she may have with a lover. A parrot who belongs to the husband cleverly detains the woman from wrong-doing by telling one or more tales each night as she is about to go to meet her paramour. In the Sanskrit the tales are seventy, the general plan calling for one relation each night, but in the Persian of Zijai-ed-din-Nachshebi, probably of the beginning of the fourteenth century, the nights are reduced to fifty-two and more than one tale is given each night. In later versions the nights are yet more reduced, while as many as five and six tales are told in one night. Such is the case in the Turkish version.³³

Notwithstanding the similarity in general plan between the Sanskrit and Persian works, neither in the *Textus Simplicior*,³⁴ nor in the *Textus Ornator*³⁵ of the Sanskrit

³² For a complete discussion of the versions of the *Tūti-Nāma* see Benfey, *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1858, pp. 529 ff., (*Kleinere Schriften*, II, iii, pp. 64 ff.),

³³ *Tūti-Nāmah* (*Das Papagaienbuch*), translated by Georg Rosen, 1858.

³⁴ *Die Çukasaptati* (*Textus Simplicior*) aus dem Sanskrit übersetzt von Richard Schmidt, Kiel, 1894.

³⁵ *Der Textus Ornator der Çukasaptati*, von Richard Schmidt, Stuttgart, 1896.

is any trace of our tale to be discovered. That the parrot's stock of tales should eventually attract *The Contending Lovers* with its problems and its indecisive conclusion is natural, however, for this framework would welcome its incorporation as much as the *Throne* framework. In the *Çukasaptati* the parrot usually tells his tale up to the most interesting point and then hesitates until the merchant's wife, Prabhāvatī, has asked him to tell the ending. How well our tale will fit such a scheme may be easily seen.

The tales of the *Tūti-Nāma* which I shall discuss appear in a Persian version in which the parrot's stories have been reduced to thirty-five³⁶ and which was probably made in the seventeenth century as an abridgment of the Persian of Nachshebi.³⁷ Because they have by now become familiar, I shall try to present them in the briefest possible form. The fifth of the collection is the tale of the wooden woman:³⁸

A goldsmith, a carpenter, a tailor, and a hermit are keeping watch by turn one night in a desert place. Each contributes of his ability and helps to make a beautiful woman, the carpenter beginning with a block of wood, and the hermit bringing this to life. The inevitable dispute arises.

Thus far the story is as we have found it before with only slight changes. But the conclusion takes a new and amusing turn. In the words of the translation we are told: "In short, this dispute had continued a long time when accidentally there came to the spot a person whom they desired to do justice between them. When this man saw the woman's face, he exclaimed, 'This is my lawful spouse, whom you have seduced from my house, and separated from me.' After this manner he seized and carried them before the Cutwal. When the Cutwal beheld the woman's countenance, he cried out, 'This is my brother's wife, whom he took with him on a journey; you have killed my brother, and taken the woman by force.'"

³⁶ *The Tooti Nameh or Tales of a Parrot*, translated for J. Debrett, London, 1801.

³⁷ See Benfey, *Kleinere Schriften*, II, iii, p. 66.

³⁸ Translation for Debrett, pp. 49 ff.

Finally the Cazy claims the woman as his bondmaid, and the four suitors of the original dispute have been augmented to seven. An old man now recommends submission of the case to the Tree of Decision. The tale concludes: "To shorten the story, these seven men went under the tree, and also carried the woman along with them; and each of them set forth the circumstances of his particular case. On the instant, the trunk of the tree divided asunder, and the woman ran into the cleft, upon which the tree united, and she disappeared. A voice proceeded from the tree, (saying) that everything returns to first principles; and the seven suitors for the woman were overwhelmed with shame."³⁹

As we found our Caste tale from the *Vetālapanchavinsati* amplified in the *Kathā-Sarit-Sāgara*, and the idea of the impossibility of decision much dwelt upon, here we meet the Creation tale under the same circumstances. The problem gets worse and worse and the suitors more numerous as the disputants go from judge to judge, and finally the woman is turned back into wood, it being thereby implied that the problem is in fact incapable of solution.

The parrot begins the twenty-second tale, which is of the now well-established Rescue type, after this fashion: "My mistress, go this time to the house of your lover, and relate to him the story of the merchant's daughter in order to try his understanding. If he gives you a proper answer, you may esteem him wise." The tale thus is a hoax to be used as a test.⁴⁰ It has few new features and need not be summarized.

For the testing of the lover's wisdom the parrot also recommends the telling of the twenty-fourth tale, which deals with the mixed heads:⁴¹

A king's son vows to a god that if he obtains his loved one he will

³⁹ This tale appears in Rosen's Turkish version, Theil I, pp. 151 ff.

⁴⁰ Translation for Debrett, pp. 113 ff. See Rosen, II, pp. 165 ff. for the Turkish version.

⁴¹ Translation for Debrett, pp. 122 ff.

sacrifice his head. He marries her and later makes a journey to his father-in-law with his new wife and a friend. The two men decapitate themselves just as in stories of this type previously cited, and the woman mixes heads when she comes to put them back. Then begins "a dispute between the prince's body and the brahmin's head, each claiming her for his wife."

In answer to Khojisteh's question, the parrot gives what he regards as the correct solution: "The rightful owner of that woman is the husband's head, because the head is the seat of wisdom, and presides over the body."⁴²

The Resuscitation tale is missing from versions of the *Tūti-Nāma* to which I have had access. It is possible that it appears in some collection which is not abridged.

The principal contribution of the *Tūti-Nāma* to *The Contending Lovers* is the interesting conclusion added to the Creation type. It is significant, however, that the parrot recommends two of the tales as means by which to test the perspicacity of Khojisteh's lover. Clearly the bird regards them as problem stories, and the fact that he gives an opinion of his own as to the way they should be solved would not hinder the holding of different opinions by readers of the tales.

THE VERSION IN THE *Sindibād-Nāma*

There remains another Persian version of our tale to consider. It furnishes at least one important variation, and we have now reached a point where anything new may bear fruit many fold after its seed has been sown on European soil. In the *Sindibād-Nāma*, or *Book of Sindibād*, a Persian redaction of the *Seven Wise Masters*, is a tale of *The Contending Lovers* which shows evidence of change and combination due to contact with other folk-tales. It is one of the final tales told by the prince:⁴³

⁴² See Rosen, II, pp. 169 ff. for the Turkish version.

⁴³ W. A. Clouston, *The Book of Sindibād*, 1884, pp. 106 ff. The tale does not occur in other important eastern texts of the *Seven Wise Masters*. See the comparative table at the beginning of the work.

A king has a beautiful daughter who is carried off by a *div* (corresponding to the Hindu *rakshāsa*). He promises to give half his kingdom and the daughter in marriage to anyone who will rescue her. There are in his city four brothers with peculiar gifts who are ready to undertake the task. One is a guide who has travelled all over the world, one is a daring freebooter, who is capable of taking the prey from the lion's mouth if necessary, one is a daring cavalier and fighter, and the last is a physician of wondrous power. The guide finds the maid in a cave within a mountain, the freebooter steals her, the warrior slays demons who pursue the companions, and the physician revives the maid when it is found that she is seriously ill. The king gives rewards to all, but gives the daughter and the throne to the warrior.

The tale is a misfit, it would seem, in the framework of the *Seven Wise Masters*. No strife is said to have occurred between the lovers, and there is small matter for a problem, since the king has no difficulty in choosing the warrior as the most meritorious. But it is important to note the addition to the ranks of the lovers of one man boasting a novel profession, that of thievery, and also the addition of a new episode in the slaying of pursuing demons by the warrior. Neither the thief nor the pursuing demons have been met before in our tale, and both of these innovations will be found immensely popular in Europe. Although the version is primarily of the Rescue type, there is some telescoping of Rescue and Resuscitation themes, and this gives the maid a chance to be both taken from the demon by one brave hero and cured from a dangerous illness by another.

THE VERSION IN THE *Thousand and One Nights*

In the Arabian *Thousand and One Nights*, *The Contending Lovers* is mingled with another tale to form the story of *Prince Ahmed and the Fay Pari-Banou*. The first part of this is plainly a story with close similarities to the Resuscitation type; the second belongs to quite a

different class of tales, as Cosquin has shown.⁴⁴ The version represented by the introduction to the *Prince Ahmed* story has had enormous influence on European folk-literature, a fact to which numerous descendants of the type will be found to testify. Many of these seem almost certainly to have been subjected to no means of transmission except that by word of mouth, but some are under suspicion of having been adopted into circulation among the folk from Galland's *Les Mille et Une Nuits*.⁴⁵ The tale is this: ⁴⁶

A sultan takes his niece Nourounnihar to rear in his own household after her father's death. On perceiving that his three sons, Houssain, Ali, and Ahmed, are all enamoured of her, he tries vainly to show that three men cannot marry one maiden, and that they should conquer their passions. Finally he proposes that each one shall travel to a different country and return with a rare and extraordinary thing. He who obtains the most rare and singular article shall marry the princess.

Houssain, the eldest, goes to the city of Bisnagar, and buys there a carpet wherewith one may transport one's self instantly wherever one wishes to go merely by forming the wish.

Ali goes to Schiraz, the capital of Persia, where he buys a tube of ivory through which one may see whatever one wishes in any part of the world.

⁴⁴ *Revue des Traditions populaires*, xxxi (1916), pp. 98 ff., and pp. 145 ff.

⁴⁵ This tale with the adventures of Prince Ahmed is one of those in Galland's work which can now be found in no Oriental original. Galland, it was even thought at one time, might have constructed the tale himself, but it is now thought by many that such a suspicion is groundless. For his edition Burton translates it in roundabout fashion from a Hindustani translation of Galland in order to get rid of "inordinate Gallicism." Cosquin's ire is considerably aroused at this attitude (*Revue des Traditions populaires*, xxxi, pp. 116 ff.), and somewhat justly, since after all Galland's French is the closest text we have to what is probably a genuine Oriental story. Clouston in his note to the tale in Burton expresses wonder that anyone should accuse Galland of fabricating a tale that rings so true. See Burton, *Supplemental Nights*, Appendix, III, p. 600.

⁴⁶ Galland, ed. 1881, x, pp. 1 ff.

Ahmed, the youngest, goes to Samarcande, where he buys a peculiar apple of which anyone who is ill has but to smell, and he will then be cured.

After a time the brothers meet and display their rare articles. But by means of his telescope Ali suddenly sees that the princess is at the point of death. Houssain offers the use of his carpet by which the brothers are at once transported to the palace. Ahmed then cures the princess with his apple.

Each lays claim to the maid, but the sultain says, "Ainsi, comme ni le tapis ni le tuyau d'ivoire, ni la pomme artificielle ne donnent pas la moindre préférence à l'un plus qu'à l'autre, mais au contraire une parfaite égalité à chacun, et que je ne puis accorder la princesse Nourounihar qu'à un seul, vous voyez vous-mêmes que le seul fruit que vous avez rapporté de votre voyage est la gloire d'avoir contribué également à lui rendre la santé."

Consequently the sultan finds a new way to decide which one of his sons shall marry his niece. Now follows the second part of the tale, and this part must really be regarded as the central story to which the account of the resuscitation of the princess has been attached as a mere opening episode. The sultan decrees an archery contest, and promises that the son who shoots farthest shall be chosen. Ahmed's arrow is lost, and in his search for it he is led to the retreat of the fay Pari-Banou. This part of the tale has, of course, no importance for our discussion.

Although I have indicated that the *Story of Prince Ahmed* is in its first part close to the Resuscitation type of *The Contending Lovers*, it may be easily seen that the Rescue type has also exercised its influence in certain details. The first two lovers are recognizable as the man of knowledge and the speedy traveller who play parts in rescuing the maiden from a monster in the oldest versions. A most important change is that by which the lovers are made to perform their services through the utilization of magic things instead of magic powers. We have met before magic things which are used together with magic powers; the swfit chariot or magic horse of the Rescue

tale is one of these. But in the Arabic tale there is no trace of any magic powers or skilled accomplishments. It is noteworthy that here for the first time the suitors are brothers. This is due to a borrowing from other folktales,⁴⁷ but so popular did the feature become that in Europe the lovers of all types of *The Contending Lovers* are very often brothers. However, it is by no means to be supposed that all later versions in which the lovers are brothers are under influence from the tale recorded in the *Thousand and One Nights*.

DEFINITION OF TYPES

During the examination of Oriental sources for *The Contending Lovers* which has just been concluded I have tried to designate the salient features of the various versions, and to emphasize the hoax or problem characteristics for all. We are now prepared to marshal the results of our investigation, and to arrange the versions of the tale with which we are dealing according to a few sharply defined types.

Roughly generalized, the arguments of the lovers are found to rest upon three different classes of things: first, services which are due to skill or knowledge; secondly, services which are not due to skill, and which are often more or less fortuitous; thirdly, inherent worth, sometimes thought of as evidenced by nobility.

However, although it is instructive to keep in mind the character of the lover's claims, the versions of *The Contending Lovers* are best classified in another way. I make five sub-divisions, not maintaining that they represent absolutely pure types among which there is no interchange, but only that they are to all intents independent in the

⁴⁷ For a discussion of this matter see pp. 305 ff. below.

Orient, and that their definition will prove of great value in the classification and study of the tale for Europe.

I. *The Resuscitation Type*.⁴⁸ In its most usual form this type has three well-born lovers. Their claims may vary. However, each youth must contribute something toward the resuscitation of a maiden, who is often a princess (not so in *Senguehassen-Battissi*, tale 10, part 3), and who may be dead (*Vetāla* 2), or sick to the point of death (*Book of Sindibād* and *Thousand and One Nights*). The services may be skilled (third lover of *Vetāla* 2), or unskilled and fortuitous (first and second lovers of *Senguehassen-Battissi*, tale 10, part 1; *Thousand and One Nights*).

II. *The Rescue Type*.⁴⁹ The usual number of lovers is three, but may be four (*Book of Sindibād*), or even six (*Siddhi-Kür*). They claim the maiden, here also usually a princess, because each through his exceptional gifts has been able to contribute skilled services toward her rescue from a demon (*Vetāla* 5), magician (*Senguehassen-Battissi*, tale 10, part 1), powerful king (*Siddhi-Kür*). Three lovers may be regarded as the early nucleus: a man of knowledge, a fast traveller, and a man of war. Others may be added, however (*Siddhi-Kür*; *Book of Sindibād*).

III. *The Head Type*. No services are performed. The controversy grows out of a mistake made by a woman in mixing the heads of husband and friend, and placing them on the wrong bodies. It is really, then, a form of argument between two members of the body as to inherent

⁴⁸ I do not pretend to make a complete collation of incidents for the following summaries. References to tales are given merely as examples.

⁴⁹ This is the type in which Benfey finds the beginnings of *Das Märchen von "den Menschen mit den wunderbaren Eigenschaften."* Consequently it is the type which has attracted to itself most scholarly interest.

worth. The lover who cuts off his head may be a man of low degree (*Vetāla* 6) or a prince (*Tūti-Nāma* 24).

IV. *The Caste Type*. No services are performed for the princess by her lovers, who are four, and base their claims on unapplied accomplishments. The caste of the suitors is also important when merit comes to be considered. The youths are a weaver, a man who understands the language of animals (*Vetāla* 7), a man of knowledge (*Vetāla* 7) who may be able to raise a dead woman to life (*Kathā-Sarit-Sāgara*, tale independent of the *Vetāla* framework), and a warrior. The king is perplexed and gives his daughter her own choice. She is, however, unable to make a decision.

V. *The Creation Type*. Four young men dispute about the possession of a woman because each has contributed something to her creation. The first hews a figure out of wood, the second paints it (*Ardschi-Bordschi-Chān*) or bejewels it (*Senguehassen-Battissi*, tale 10, part 3; *Tūti-Nāma* 5), the third gives will and understanding (*Ardschi-Bordschi-Chān*) or clothes it (*Senguehassen-Battissi*, tale 10, part 3; *Tūti-Nāma* 5), and the fourth gives life. The youths are herdsmen (*Ardschi-Bordschi-Chān*) or tradesmen (*Senguehassen-Battissi*, tale 10, part 3).

A product of the mingling of types is the first part of *Prince Ahmed and the Fay Pari-Banou* in the *Thousand and One Nights*, but the story became so popular in Europe that it will be well for practical classification to make it a type by itself, even though it deals primarily with the Resuscitation theme. It will be called the *Gifts type*, because the lovers perform their services by means of magic gifts.

In all the types, the lovers fall into an argument for the possession of the maiden. They may simply wrangle

among themselves without trying to get a disinterested person to decide the matter, but more often there is someone to whom they appeal for a judgment. As we have seen, this person is frequently the father of the maiden. In these disputes by the lovers lies the germ of such an elaborate court scene as that described in the *Paradiso* or the *Parlement of Foules*. We are soon to trace its growth.

It goes without saying that as a rule each one of the types just described has the indecisive ending which is characteristic of *The Contending Lovers*.

II

SUMMARY OF *THE CONTENDING LOVERS*

The evolution of *The Contending Lovers* after it has reached Europe, its spread, and the relative popularity gained among many peoples by the different types which have been distinguished may be best studied after a systematic classification and summary of versions has been made. I give in the following pages such a summary. My purpose being to convey in as short space as possible a fairly comprehensive knowledge of the different types of *The Contending Lovers*, I indicate in all cases what seem pertinent features of the stories listed. In some cases I summarize more fully than in others, as the importance of the versions or their relationship to other versions dictates, but at all times particular attention is paid to the dispute between the lovers and the conclusion of the story. Discussion of the different versions, however, has been reserved. If this list with its accompanying notes vexes the reader as a too mechanical dissection of tales that are usually gracefully told, let me ask him to use it only for reference and skip to ensuing discussion.

Because of the Chaucer problems which lie in the back-

ground, the summary is meant primarily to give in the briefest and most usable form possible a characterization of European versions which are thoroughly representative of both peoples and types, but some modern Oriental versions are included, as are also a few highly interesting tales from Africa.¹ The *Parlement of Foules* itself has been left out of the attempted classification. The versions are grouped as follows:

The Resuscitation type.

The Gifts type.

The Rescue type.

Versions with the Incident of the Ship.

Versions with the Incident of the Tower.

Miscellaneous versions of the Rescue type.

The Creation type.

Anomalous versions.

Chronological classification for any mass of European folk-lore is, of course, next to impossible. This is one of the reasons why the method of presenting material has here been changed from that used with Oriental beginnings, where a rough chronological arrangement of the tales could be made.

THE RESUSCITATION TYPE

ORIENTAL PROTOTYPES.—*Vetālapanchavinsati* 2; *Senguehassen-Battissi*, tale 10, part 3; *Book of Sindibād*.

AFRICAN.—R. E. Dennett, *Folk-Lore of the Fjort*, London, 1898, no. 3, pp. 33-4, *How the Wives Restored Their Husband to Life*.

¹Lack of space and the inaccessibility of rarer versions in less-read European languages forbid completeness. For further material see the indispensable notes to Grimm 129 by Bolte and Polívka, *Anmerkungen*, Band III (1918), pp. 45-58. In most cases the character of inaccessible versions there noted is sufficiently indicated.

Curious case where sexes are reversed. Three wives resuscitate dead husband and dispute about merit. Husband favors her who has knowledge of life-giving herbs.

CEYLONESE.—H. Parker, *Village Folk-Tales of Ceylon*, London, 1910, no. 74, I, pp. 378 ff., *The Three Suitors*.

A goes to a soothsayer, B watches at the girl's burying place, C says, "It doesn't matter to me," and goes away. Resuscitated maiden chooses C.

CEYLONESE.—H. Parker, work cited. no. 82, II, pp. 36-9 (Variant a), *The Nobleman and His Five Sons*.

Mutilated. Only three of the sons, to whose number is added the father, claim the girl. No decision.

CEYLONESE.—H. Parker, work cited. no. 82, II, pp. 42-3 (Variant c), *The Attempt of Four Brahmana Princes to Marry*.

Four brothers learn respectively the sciences of looking at omens, of going in the sky, of abating poison, and of giving life. Quarrel. No one gets princess.

CHALDEAN.—F. Macler, *Quatre Contes Chaldéens, Revue des Traditions Populaires*, XXIII (1908), no. 1, pp. 327 ff., *Les Trois Frères*.

Brothers go out into the world to learn professions: astronomy, medicine, civil engineering. Resuscitate maiden. "Les parents et les amis vinrent et tinrent conseil; à qui la donner." Decision in favor of A, the eldest.

GREEK.—Rev. E. M. Geldart, *Folk Lore of Modern Greece*, London, 1884, pp. 106-25, *The Golden Casket*. (Translated from the Greek texts collected by Von Hahn and published by J. Pio, *Contes Populaires Grecs*, 1879.)

Told to make a princess break silence. Cf. *Senguehassen-Battissi* 10. Three lovers not brothers; A is a famous astrologer, B an eminent doctor, C a swift runner.

INDIAN.—Charles Swynnerton, *Indian Nights' Entertain-*

ment, 1892, I, p. 228, *The Story of Ali the Merchant and the Brahmin*.

Modern Indian folk version of the old *Vetāla* Resuscitation story.

ITALIAN.—Giovanni da Prato, *Il Paradiso degli Alberti*, ed. Alessandro Wesselofsky, Bologna, 1867, Tale of the Founding of Prato, II, pp. 98-171. (Summarized in *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XXXII, pp. 496 ff.)

THE GIFTS TYPE

ORIENTAL PROTOTYPE. — *Thousand and One Nights, Prince Ahmed and the Fay Pari-Banou*.

These versions usually bear close resemblance to the Oriental prototype, and show strikingly small variation among each other. Three is the universal number of the lovers.

AFRICAN. — George W. Ellis, *Negro Culture in West Africa*, New York, 1914, no. 18, pp. 200 ff., *Three Rival Brothers*.

Magic glass, magic medicine, magic hammock. Dispute taken to a judge, who is unable to make a decision, and turns the matter over to the people. "To which of the brothers did the daughter belong?"

AFRICAN.—Henri A. Junod, *Les Chants et les Contes des Ba-Ronga de la Baie de Delagoa*, Lausanne, 1897, no. 27, *Les trois Vaisseaux*.

Three sons of a white man journey through the world and buy respectively a basket, a mirror, and a powder, which are the means of bringing their loved one back to life and causing a hot dispute for her. Ending takes a nonsensical turn when an old man decrees that the girl shall be given to the first lover who can say "Mamma."

AFRICAN. — C. Velten, *Märchen und Erzählungen der Suaheli*, 1898, p. 71. (The tale is here printed in the dialect. It is summarized by Cosquin, *Revue des Traditions Populaires*, XXXI [1916], p. 103.)

Marvellous articles are a mirror, a mat, and a bottle of scent. After the three brothers have resurrected the maid they ask her to choose for herself among them. She does the unexpected, and chooses the father of the brothers, because, she says, they can then all three call her "Mamma."

BALOCHI.—M. Longworth Dames, *Balochi Tales, Folk-Lore*, IV (1893), no. 12, pp. 205 ff., *The Three Wonderful Gifts*.

Three youths wish to marry the daughter of their uncle, who sends them on the quest for wonderful gifts. They get a revivifying bead, a looking-glass, and a flying couch, and thereby restore the dead loved one to life. Uncle sends lovers to king for judgment, which is: "According to the law I give her to him who first saw her while the women were washing her, as he saw her undressed, and she would be ashamed in his presence."

BOHEMIAN.—John T. Naaké, *Slavonic Fairy Tales*, London, 1874, pp. 194 ff., *The Wise Judgment*.

Sophisticated version. Gifts are a carriage, a looking glass, and three apples with the usual magic qualities. Father unable to decide among the three brothers and calls in the wise men of the kingdom. Girl finally awarded to youngest suitor.

GREEK.—J. G. VON HAHN, *Griechische und Albanesische Märchen*, Leipzig, 1864, no. 47, 1, pp. 263 ff., *Von den drei um die Braut streitenden Brüdern*.

Brothers see, reach, and resuscitate dying maiden by means of telescope, magic "apfelsine," and flying carpet. Quarrel hopelessly and father takes girl for his own wife.

HUNGARIAN.—G. Stier, *Ungarische Sagen und Märchen*, Berlin, 1850, no. 9, pp. 61 ff., *Drei Kostbare Dinge*.

Very close to the Bohemian version, Naaké, p. 194, even in the matter of the judgment.

ICELANDIC.—Adeline Rittershaus, *Die Neuisländischen Volksmärchen*, Halle a. S., 1902, no. 43, pp. 183 ff., *Die drei Freier um eine Braut*.

Telescope, mantle, apple. An assembly is called to settle the lovers' dispute, and the decision is that the problem is insoluble except by a new test.

ICELANDIC.—Mrs. A. W. Hall, *Icelandic Fairy Tales*, London, 1897(?), pp. 19 ff., *The King's Three Sons*.

Variant of the preceding version with the judgment scene described in greater detail. King calls a great "Thing" or national assembly and has the brothers exhibit their gifts before it. Set speeches are made by the brothers, who harangue their audience with some spirit. No decision reached.

ICELANDIC.—Jón Árnason, tr. Powell-Magnússon, *Icelandic Legends*, 1866, pp. 348 ff., *The Story of the Three Princes*.

Still another variant close to the preceding two.

ITALIAN.—Gherardo Nerucci, *Sessanta Novelle Popolari Montalesi*, Firenze, 1880, no. 40, pp. 335 ff., *I tre Regali*.

Father of princess proposes to give her to that one of three brother princes who will acquire the most wonderful gift for her. A gets magic flying carpet, B a telescope with a range of one hundred miles, C three grape stones which will resuscitate a dying person. By means of these princess is resuscitated. No decision.

ITALIAN.—Christian Schneller, *Märchen und Sagen aus Wälschtirol*, Innsbruck, 1867, no. 14, *Die Drei Liebhaber (I tre Amanti)*.

Gifts are a crystal of observation, resuscitating apple, flying chair. After maiden is cured of illness "Welchen von den dreien hat nun das Mädchen wol etwa geheiratet?"

MAGYAR.—Rev. W. Henry Jones and Lewis L. Kropf, *The Folk-Tales of the Magyars*, London, 1889, pp. 155 ff., *The Three Valuable Things*.

Magic properties are a telescope, a cloak, and an orange. After the maid is restored to life there is among the three brothers "a good deal of litigation and quarrelling," and "all the learned and old people of the realm" are called together to make a decision. The girl is awarded to the youngest brother, who possessed the orange.

PORTUGUESE.—Consiglieri Pedroso, tr. Miss Henriqueta Monteiro, *Portuguese Folk-Tales*, London, 1882, no. 23, pp. 94 ff., *The Three Princes and the Maiden*.

Three princes acquire looking-glass, rug of transportation, and a candle that restores the dead to life. Resuscitated maiden says, "As you all three have a right to marry me, and as I cannot have three husbands at one time, I shall not marry any of you!"

ROUMANIAN-GYPSY.—F. H. Groome, *Gypsy Folk-Tales*, London, 1899, no. 13, pp. 53 ff., *The Watchmaker*.

Young watchmaker wins dumb princess by making her break silence over the tale of the gifts. Mirror, robe, apple. "And whom then did she choose?"

SERBIAN.—Madam Csedomille Mijatovics, ed. Rev. W. Denton, *Serbian Folk-Lore*, London, 1874, pp. 230 ff., *The Three Suitors*.

Carpet, telescope, ointment. Disputation is useless, and king, father of the princess, sends the three suitors away without a judgment.

SOUTH SLAVIC.—Friedrich S. Krauss, *Tausend Sagen und Maerchen der Südslaven*, Wien, 1914, no. 63, 1, pp. 196 ff., *Drei Liebhaber beleben ihre verstorbene Liebe wieder*.

Three youths (not brothers) learn that a maiden in next village is dead by means of a glass which one of them possesses, go to the scene on a flying "fellchen," and restore her to life with "ein fläschchen des Abuhajol-Wassers." Dispute as to possession of girl taken before Kadi, who gives maiden the self-choice. She chooses "einen von ihnen"; which one the tale does not say.

SPANISH.—Fernan Caballero, tr. J. H. Ingram, *Spanish Fairy Tales*, Philadelphia, 1881, pp. 22 ff., *A Girl Who Wanted Three Husbands*.

Striking self-choice. Father wants daughter to take one of three eligible suitors and she says, "I will accept the three." The father's remonstrances are useless and he finally decrees the test by gifts. Those forthcoming are a glass, a balsam, and a boat, which aid the suitors to resuscitate the girl after life has departed. When dispute begins, the irrepressible daughter arises smiling from her coffin, and turning to her father, says, "You see, father, that I must marry all three of them."

TURKISH.—Ignác Kúnos, *Forty-four Turkish Fairy Tales*, London, 1918(?), pp. 44 ff., *The Silent Princess*.

Corrupted. Three young men learn arts corresponding to the usual gifts in this type. Princess is ill and resuscitated.

THE RESCUE TYPE

ORIENTAL PROTOTYPES.—*Vetālapanchavinsati* 5; *Senguehassen-Battissi*, tale 10, part 1; *Tūti-Nāma* 22; *Book of Sindibād*.

RESCUE VERSIONS WITH THE INCIDENT OF THE SHIP

BRETON.—F. M. Luzel, *Contes Populaires de Basse-Bretagne*, Paris, 1887, no. 9, III, pp. 312 ff., *Les Six Frères Paresseux*.

A delightfully told and very elaborate tale. The poor father here has six sons whom he sends into the world to make their fortunes. A becomes a climber, B a mender, C an archer, D a violin player and reviver of the dead, E a shipbuilder, F a diviner; the skilled six are enabled to rescue the usual princess held captive on an island. Father holds a miniature court to decide the dispute for the girl's hand, and each son presents his case in turn. The maiden is finally allowed to choose for herself, but we are not told whom she chooses.

BRETON.—Paul Sébillot, *Contes Populaires de la Haute-Bretagne*, Paris, 1880, no. 8, pp. 53 ff., *Les Quatre Fils du Meunier*.

Details again much like those in Grimm 129. To decide which brother shall keep the princess, the four go to a "courte-paille." There the tailor is chosen; the king rewards the others.

CEYLONESE.—H. Parker, *Village Folk-Tales of Ceylon*, London, 1910, no. 82, II, pp. 33 ff., *The Princes who Learnt the Sciences*.

Four skilled princes. Remarkable similarities to Grimm 129.

DANISH.—Svend Grundtvig, *Danske Folkeeventyr*, Kjøbenhavn, 1881, no. 17, pp. 210 ff., *Syvstjaernen*.

Six sons are shipbuilder, helmsman, keen hearer, crack shot, climber, master-thief. King cannot settle contention and has maiden and lovers placed in the heavens as stars.

GERMAN.—Jacob and William Grimm, *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*, no. 129, *Die vier kunstreichen Brüder*.

A poor man sends his four sons away from home to learn trades, and they become thief, astronomer, huntsman, and tailor, each superlatively skilled in his calling. On their return he tests them. Later they rescue the captured princess in the usual way, the tailor being forced to repair the broken ship. After the return each brother presents his claims to the princess and the king decides that as each has an equal right he will reward them all handsomely instead of settling the dispute.

GERMAN.—Friedrich Woeste, *Zeitschrift für Deutsche Mythologie*, I, p. 338.

A variant of Grimm 129 in which the tailor becomes a cooper, and the astronomer an "allwisser."

ITALIAN.—Gian Battista Basile, *Il Pentamerone*, v, 7.
(Tr. Sir Richard Burton, London, 1893.)

A is a clever rogue, B a skilful boat-builder, C an unerring cross-bow marksman, D a physician, and E a student of the language of birds. There is an added incident in which the ghul who guards the princess pursues the company and is shot by C. The ghul falls upon the boat and the princess would have been killed if D had not revived her. King awards the princess to the father of the suitors.

ITALIAN.—Domenico Comparetti, *Novelline Popolari Italiane*, 1875, no. 19, I, pp. 80 ff., *I tre ragazzi*.

Three young men rescue princess kept in a cavern by a magician, sail away with her, and are pursued. Hunter shoots magician, who falls on the boat. Carpenter mends the boat. In the resulting quarrel for the girl the father declares that none of the lovers shall have her but that he will provide other wives for them.

ITALIAN.—Hieronymus Morlinus, no. 79, *De fratribus qui per orbem pererrando ditati sunt*. See *Parthenopei, Novellae, Fabulae, Comoedia*, Paris, 1855, pp. 155 ff.

Tale translated closely by Straparola. See summary below.

ITALIAN.—*Il Novellino, The Story of the King of Jerusalem and his Four Sons*. See text by Giovanni Papanti, *Catalogo dei Novellieri Italiani in Prosa*, 1871, no. 23, I, pp. 44 ff.

Version incomplete owing to *lacunae* in the manuscript, but extremely interesting as one of the earliest recorded European tales of the type.

ITALIAN.—Giovanni Francesco Straparola, *I Piacevoli Noti*, night VII, fable 5. (Tr. W. G. Waters, London, 1894.)

A poor man's three sons go out into the world and learn arts or trades; A becomes a warrior and clever scaler of fortress walls, B a skilful shipwright, C a student versed in the language of birds. By means of these accomplishments they learn of a princess immured in a castle on an island, reach her, and rescue her. But since they cannot divide her into three parts, they wrangle over her possession. "Wherefore we shall each settle the cause as we think right, while the judge keeps us waiting for his decision." As in all versions with this incident, the maiden is reached by means of a ship.

ITALIAN.—Georg Widter und Adam Wolf, *Volksmärchen aus Venetien, Jahrbuch für Romanische und Englische Literatur*, VII, p. 30, *Die vier kunstreichen Brüder*.

Four sons who wish to marry their foster sister are sent out into the world by the father to learn arts. They become carpenter, hunter, thief, magician, and when the girl is stolen by a prince, they find and rescue her. Carpenter mends the ship when a pursuing dragon has fallen upon it and broken it. Father awards the maid to the carpenter.

MORAVIAN.—A. H. Wratislaw, *Sixty Folk-Tales*, London, 1889, no. 9, pp. 55 ff., *The Four Brothers*.

Cobbler, thief, astrologer, huntsman. Cobbler mends the boat. After a contention for the rescued girl, the suitors ask her father to pass judgment. He quibbles by saying that he has promised to give the princess to the one who should *find* her, and that since the astrologer has done this, he shall have her.

SLAVIC.—Joseph Wenzig, *Westslawischer Märchenschatz*, Leipzig, 1857, pp. 140 ff., *Die vier Brüder*.

Variant of the version above, in which the thief becomes a “hadersammler.” At the request of the brothers the princess is allowed to choose for herself, but we are not told which she chooses.

RESCUE VERSIONS WITH THE INCIDENT OF THE TOWER

In the following versions the rescue is accomplished in much more elaborate fashion than in any others of the type. There is here a peculiar incident which has to do with the hiding of the princess in a tower or refuge which one of the suitors can erect at a moment's notice. The suitors are usually seven.

ALBANIAN. — Auguste Dozon, *Contes Albanais*, Paris, 1881, no. 4, pp. 27 ff., *Le Pou*.

A demon wins a princess in a most curious fashion by identifying the hide of a monstrous louse, which is hung up in a public place. The girl is rescued from her demon lover, who hides her underground, by the seven skilled lovers. A can hear keenly, B make the earth open at command, C steal anything, D throw “un soulier” to the end of the world, E build a tower, F shoot unerringly, G catch safely anything falling from the sky. When the demon flies away with the princess after she has almost been brought to safety, F shoots him, and G catches the falling girl. The king asks the princess to choose among the lovers and she takes the one who caught her when she fell.

ALBANIAN. — Gustav Meyer, *Albanische Märchen*, 1881, no. 8, pp. 118 ff., *Die sieben Brüder mit den Wundergaben*.

Contains the incident of the louse substantially as in preceding tale. The judgment scene is noteworthy. A great assembly is convened, and the princess asks of her father the right to choose for herself. She chooses the brother who raised the palace.

GREEK. — Rev. E. M. Geldart, *Folk Lore of Modern Greece*, London, 1884, pp. 106 ff., *The Golden Casket*.

Problem tale told to make a dumb princess break silence. The lovers are seven and have accomplishments of the usual sort.

ITALIAN. — Laura Gonzenbach, *Sicilianische Märchen*, Leipzig, 1870, no. 45, 1, pp. 305 ff., *Von den sieben Brüdern, die Zaubergaben hatten*.

The daughter of a king is stolen by an ogre and seven skilled young men undertake her rescue. A can run like the wind, B can hear anything anywhere, C can with his fists beat in seven iron doors, D can steal anything, E can build an iron tower in a moment's time, F can shoot unerringly, G can wake the dead with his guitar. In the obvious ways the youths locate the girl, steal her from the ogre, and flee with her. When the ogre pursues, E builds his tower, F shoots the monster, but also hits the princess, and G is forced to restore her to life. The king invites a discussion as to which youth deserves the princess, and she is finally awarded to G.

ITALIAN. — Giuseppe Pitrè, *Novelle Popolari Toscani*, Firenze, 1885, no. 10, 1, pp. 65 ff., *Il Negromante*.

Seven suitors have slightly different accomplishments from those in preceding version. King quashes the ambitions of the brothers to marry into the royal family, and rewards them otherwise.

ITALIAN. — Giuseppe Pitrè, work cited, 1, pp. 71 ff., *Mente Infusa*.

Variant of the above tale.

ITALIAN. — Giuseppe Pitrè, *Fiabe Novelle e Racconti Popolari Siciliani*, Palermo, 1875, 1, pp. 196 ff., *Il Mago Tartagna*.

Seven skilled brothers rescue the princess in the usual way, and carry their dispute for her possession into court. It is there decided that the brother who carried her in his arms should take her to wife.

ITALIAN. — Giuseppe Pitrè, same work, 1, p. 197, *I sette Fratelli*.

Summarized incompletely by Pitrè as a variant of the preceding tale. No dispute mentioned.

LESBIAN. — Léon Pineau, *Contes Populaires Grecs de L'isle de Lesbos*, *Revue des Traditions Populaires*, XII (1897), pp. 201 ff., *L'épouse du Diable*.

Another version with the incident of the louse. Lovers are only three. After deliberation by the king the princess is not awarded.

SERBIAN. — V. Jagić, *Aus dem Südslavischen Märchenschatz*, *Archiv für Slavische Philologie*, v (1881), no. 46, pp. 36 ff., *Abermals die Plejaden*.

Lovers are again six, and again the principals in the dispute are transformed into stars. "Das sind die sieben Sterne die man Plejaden nennt."

SLAVIC.—Friedrich S. Krauss, *Sagen und Märchen der Südslaven*, Leipzig, 1883, no. 32, i, pp. 120 ff., *Das Siebengestirn*.

Lovers are five, but the king's "Hofmann" who finds these skilled brothers also lays claim to the princess. The mother of the five brothers is unable to pass judgment, and the suitors together with the princess are transformed into stars in the firmament.

MISCELLANEOUS VERSIONS OF THE RESCUE TYPE

AFRICAN.—M. D. Charnay, *Revue des Cours littéraires de la France*, 1865, p. 210, *Souvenirs de Madagascar*. (Quoted in full by Wesselofsky, *Il Paradiso degli Alberti*, i, ii, p. 287.)

Physician, far-seer, and strong man, rescue and resuscitate princess. "A qui faut-il accorder la récompense promise? La question n'est pas encore résolue."

AFRICAN.—Reinsch, *Die Saho-Sprache*, Wien, 1889, no. 3, pp. 50 ff., *Schiedsgerichtliche Zuerkennung eines Mädchens an einen von vier Freiern*.

Four skilled young men rescue and resuscitate a maiden who has been devoured by a hippopotamus. A judge gives the loved one to the suitor who had sounded a trumpet and attracted the beast.

CAMBODIAN.—E. Aymonier, *Textes Kmers*, première série, Saigon, 1878, p. 44.

Four men learn from a sage brahman respectively astrology, the science of arms, the art of plunging and travelling in water, the art of resuscitating the dead. When an eagle flies away with a princess they are thus enabled to learn of the matter, to shoot the bird, and after the girl has fallen into the sea to rescue and resuscitate her. The king judges that the princess belongs to him who resuscitated her.

GERMAN.—A. M. Tendlau, *Fellmeiers Abende, Märchen und Geschichten aus grauer Vorzeit*, Frankfurt am Main, 1856, II, pp. 16 ff., *Die sieben Künste*.

Seven brothers named after the days of the week learn highly specialized arts, and rescue a princess from a knight. The suitors argue concerning their rights to the loved one, and the youngest finally prevails.

GERMAN-JEWISH. — Reinhold Köhler, *Jahrbuch für romanische und englische Literatur*, VII (1866), pp. 33 ff.

A close variant of the tale immediately preceding.

GREEK.—R. M. Dawkins, *Modern Greek in Asia Minor*, Cambridge, 1916, p. 573 ff., *How the Companions Rescued the Princess*.

Corrupted version. Seven brothers include a listener, a catcher, a crack shot, and a lifter. The father of the maid asks her to choose and she takes the youngest suitor.

TIROLESE.—Christian Schneller, *Märchen und Sagen aus Wälschtirol*, Innsbruck, 1867, no. 31, pp. 86 ff., *Die Frau des Teufels*.

Contains the incident of the louse. The lovers are a far-seer, a sharp-hearer, and a strong man. There is no dispute over the maid.

TURKISH.—J. A. Decourdemanche, *Revue des Traditions Populaires*, XIV (1899), pp. 411 ff., *La fille du Roi de Cachemire, L'afrite et les Quatre Frères*. (From a Turkish redaction of the *Seven Wise Masters* of the sixteenth century.)

A clever tracker, a man of war, a man wise in writings, and a physician rescue a princess, who is not awarded by the king to any of them.

SLAVIC.—Friedrich S. Krauss, *Sagen und Märchen der Südslaven*, Leipzig, 1883, no. 33, pp. 124 ff., *Die Glucke*.

Serpent carries off the maiden. Five brothers, Master-shot, Master-eye, Master-ear, Master-thief, and Master-flight, rescue her. The

mother of the brothers cannot decide the dispute for the girl, and she with her lovers is enveloped in a cloud and all become stars. There are here obvious resemblances to versions with the incident of the tower.

THE CREATION TYPE

ORIENTAL PROTOTYPES. — *Ardschi-Bordschi-Chân; Sen-guehassen-Battissi*, tale 10, part 1; *Tûti-Nâma* 5.

The versions of this type all resemble each other so closely that little characterization is needed.

ALGERIAN. — Belkassam, ben Sedira, *Cours de Langue Kabyle*, Alger, 1887, pp. ccxxv ff., *La fille du roi*.

Youth wins princess by telling the tale of the carpenter, the silk-merchant, and the t'aleb, and making her speak.

ARABIAN. — René Basset, *Revue des Traditions Populaires*, xv, p. 114, *Le menuisier, le commerçant, et le t'aleb*. Judge favors t'aleb, who has given life.

ARABIAN. — Albert Socin, *Diwan aus Centralarabien*. Leipzig, 1900, (*Abhandlungen der philologisch-historischen Classe der Königl. Sächs. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*) Teil II, no. 107, p. 126.

Creators are here four, a goldsmith being introduced to ornament the woman. Judge gives woman to priest.

BALUCHI. — M. Longworth Dames, *Baluchi Tales, Folk-Lore*, III (1892), pp. 524 ff., no. 6, *The Four Men Who Made the Figure of a Woman*.

King awards woman to tailor, for, he says, "it is the bridegroom who gives clothes to the bride."

BOHEMIAN. — Th. Benfey, *Pantschatantra*, 1859, I, pp. 491 ff. (Benfey translates from a collection by B. Nemcova, 1855.)

Has the usual three lovers. Told to make a princess break silence.

CAMBODIAN. — Adhemard Leclère, *Contes Laotiens et Contes Cambodgiens*, Paris, 1903, pp. 161 ff., *La Statue vivifiée*.

Carpenter, sculptor, magician, resuscitator. Told to make a princess speak.

CHALDEAN.—F. Macler, *Revue des Traditions Populaires*, XXIII (1908), pp. 333 ff., no. 2, *Les Trois Amis*.

Judge declares in favor of the priest, but makes him pay the other two companions for their work.

GEORGIAN.—Marjory Wardrop, *Georgian Folk-Tales*, London, 1894, pp. 105 ff., *The King and the Apple*.

Joiner, tailor, and priest. Corrupted version in which the figure created is a man. Dispute as to merit.

GREEK.—R. M. Dawkins, *Modern Greek in Asia Minor*, Cambridge, 1916, p. 465 ff., *The Carpenter, the Goldsmith, the Tailor, and the Priest*.

A dervish and other judges are not able to decide the contention and the girl goes back into the tree from which she was made.

GREEK. — E. M. Geldart, *Folk-Lore of Modern Greece*, London, 1884, pp. 106 ff., *The Golden Casket*.

Another provocative problem tale told to make a princess break silence. A monk, a tailor, and a carpenter journey to find employment. At night while they are keeping watch for robbers each in his turn contributes of his skill or materials toward the creation of a woman, the carpenter carving the figure, the tailor clothing it, and the monk giving it life. They argue for her possession.

GREEK.—W. R. Paton, *Folk-Tales from the Aegean, Folk-Lore*, XII (1901), pp. 317 ff., *Ulum-Sefer*.

Priest, carpenter, and tailor. No decision of the dispute.

INDIAN.—Ferdinand Hahn, *Blicke in die Geisteswelt der Heidnischen Kols*, 1906, no. 13, pp. 24 ff., *Wessen Frau ist sie?*

Claimants are four. Judge favors him who bestowed life.

TURKISH. — H. Carnoy, *La Tradition*, v (1891), pp. 326 ff., *Le Menuisier, le Tailleur, et le Sophta*.

Also told to make an obstinate princess speak.

TRKISH.—Ignác Kúnos, *Forty-four Turkish Fairy Tales*, London, 1918 (?), p. 48, *The Silent Princess*.

Carpenter, softa, and tailor.

ANOMALOUS VERSIONS

AFRICAN.—R. E. Dennet, *Folk-Lore of the Fjort*, London, 1898, no. 16, pp. 74 ff., *How the Spider Won and Lost Nzambi's Daughter*.

An unusual tale in which naturally skilled creatures perform a difficult task and dispute for a girl as the prize. The mother cannot decide the contention and gives each the "market value" of the daughter.

AFRICAN.—George W. Ellis, *Negro Culture in West Africa*, New York, 1914, no. 27, pp. 211 ff., *Three Royal Lovers*.

Three lovers visit a princess. For A she prepares a bath, for B she serves a dinner, and for C she does nothing but take a walk with him. The youths are unable to agree which has won most favor from the *innamorata*, and take the matter before a judge, who is also nonplussed. The maid is still unmarried.

ESTHONIAN.—Friedrich Kreutzwald, tr. F. Lowe, *Ehstnische Märchen*, Halle, 1869, no. 3, pp. 32 ff., *Schnellfuss, Flinkhand, und Scharfauge*.

Tasks and tests of skill are performed for the princess's hand. The brothers cannot decide among themselves which has the greatest merit, and settle the matter by casting lots. Scharfauge wins.

ITALIAN.—*Novella del Fortunato nuovamente stampata*, Livorno, 1869. (Carefully summarized by R. Köhler, *Kleinere Schriften*, II, pp. 590 ff.)

Three companions win a princess who sets her lovers the task of running a race against her. Coricorante, the swift runner, undertakes the task, and when Vedividante of keen sight sees him lag behind, Tiritirante, the archer, is induced to spur him on with a harmless arrow. The king calls a council to decide the dispute. "La coppia della sententia è nelle mani del Fortunato a beneficio di quelli che li piacerà vederla."

LORRAINESE.—E. Cosquin, *Contes populaires de Lorraine*, Paris, 1886, no. 59, pp. 184 ff., *Les trois Charpentiers*.

Three brothers, all carpenters, receive magic things from an old man: a belt to produce precious stones, a bell which when rung resuscitates the dead, a sabre which makes its possessor a conqueror. In obvious ways the youths help a king to win his battles, and the princess marries the possessor of the bell.

MACEDONIAN.—G. F. Abbot, *Macedonian Folklore*, Cambridge, 1903, p. 264, *The Princess and the Two Dragons*.

Curious because the lovers are only two. They perform tasks for the princess's hand, and finally kill each other, when their hopeless equality is apparent.

III

ANALYSIS OF THE CONTENDING LOVERS

The Contending Lovers has undergone much transformation, and some of its types have been raised up in popularity, some cast down, as it has been adopted by European tale-tellers. But the fact that it has made a definite appeal to European peoples, and must have been widely known at a reasonably early date, is attested by the mere number of occurrences which appear in the preceding summary.

The Rescue type of our tale has outdistanced all others. Although the Gifts type has attained a surprisingly wide spread, few changes have been made in the story by the succession of its European tellers. It remains so close to the form in the *Thousand and One Nights* that some suspicion of recent appropriation by the folk from Galland's translation has been cast on at least one version.¹ But the

¹ Clouston, Appendix, Burton's *Supplemental Nights*, III, p. 608: "Almost suspiciously like the story in Galland in many of the details is an Icelandic version in Powell and Magnússon's collection, yet I cannot conceive how the peasantry of that country could have got it out of 'Les Mille et Une Nuits.'" See this tale in the summary above.

Rescue type has taken new life from its contact with Europe, and has split up into new and interesting forms, evidently absorbing some material from the general stock of folk-lore around it. The result has been the evolution of two sub-types, which I have seen fit to classify for the sake of convenience according to the distinct incidents of the ship and of the magic tower. Besides those found in these sub-types, there are other changes rung on the Rescue theme.

Strangely, the pure Resuscitation type has fallen to such a minor place that its characteristics appear very seldom in Europe, notwithstanding the fact that the related Gifts type, in which a resuscitation occurs, has become so popular. The *Paradiso* tale obviously uses the Resuscitation theme, but in other European tales only a few evidences of mixture from the Resuscitation type are found.²

Others of the Oriental types occur extremely seldom in Europe. The story of the wooden woman, or the Creation type, has been discovered in Bohemia, but is most often found in the Orient. The story of the exchanged heads is little known to the folk in Europe except by recent literary circulation.

Lastly, *The Contending Lovers* has taken something from tales where a princess is won by the performance of hard tasks or feats, often set by her father the king, and has evolved a few versions in which no real service is rendered to benefit the maiden.

² It will be remembered that even in the Orient a mixture of Rescue and Resuscitation themes occurred in the Persian *Book of Sindibād*, where there are both a warrior to rescue the maiden and a physician of wondrous power to resuscitate her when she is dangerously ill. As a European example see Luzel 9, where a violin player brings the princess back to life after she has been drowned in the course of the rescue.

TRANSMISSION TO EUROPE

Some light would no doubt be thrown on certain variations of *The Contending Lovers* found in Europe by a definite knowledge of the route which our tale followed in its migration from the Orient. However, we can only depend on what has been learned regarding the transmission of folk-lore in general, and upon a few more specific theories regarding particular tales.

General knowledge and opinion would point to the entrance of our tale into Europe mainly through lands about the Mediterranean, and perhaps partly through Russia by way of some Mongolian contact. Benfey thinks certain European versions of the Rescue type, particularly those nearest to Grimm 129, are most closely related in form to the *Tūti-Nāma*.³ He points out the relationship between a tale in a Turkish version of the *Tūti-Nāma* and the Rescue tale in Morlinus, which he mistakenly thinks to be the oldest European occurrence.⁴ Since the time of Benfey, however, two older Italian tales than that in Morlinus have come to our knowledge. Italy's seeming priority in the appropriation of our tale is strengthened by these two tales from *Il Paradiso* and *Il Novellino*;⁵ and other exceedingly numerous Italian versions, medieval, renaissance, and modern, may be considered good evidence of sustained popularity. There can be little doubt that through Italy many versions got into Europe, and this is an important fact when we come to connect our tale with Chaucer.

³ "Alle uns bekannten Formen desselben zeigen sich mit der zuletzt gegebenen des Papagaienbuches innigst verwandt," he declares (*Kleinere Schriften*, II, iii, p. 110).

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 112.

⁵ See pp. 280 and 286 above.

THE LOVERS

After *The Contending Lovers* has passed into Europe, it soon falls under a series of influences which change it in more or less orderly fashion. How much of this change takes place in Europe, and not in the Orient, it is sometimes hard to tell. One patent fact is the trend among European tellers to change the number and character of the lovers. Partly because the Rescue type of the tale gains greatest popularity, strong emphasis comes to be laid on the skill and the professions or trades of the lovers. In the Orient this type already has skilled suitors, and in Europe the professions or accomplishments soon grow to be more important than any rank or nobility possessed by the young men. The maiden remains high-born, usually a princess, but her lovers become men of the people who set out to win her hand and half her father's kingdom in the most approved fairy-tale fashion.

From three suitors, usually a bold fighter, a man of knowledge, and a man who possesses some means of fast travel, the number grows in the Rescue type to as many as seven under some conditions. Consequently many accomplishments are added which are not found in the Oriental prototypes. In the stories of the Rescue type where the suitors reach their princess by means of a ship, the carpenter who can construct a ship on a moment's notice, or the shipwright, corresponds to the man with the magic chariot in certain Oriental versions. The marksman, or hunter, or scaler of fortress walls, corresponds to the warrior. The astrologer, diviner, or possessor of keen sight or hearing, is the man of knowledge. Besides these, in the stories of more than three lovers, we are apt to find such skilled men as a tailor, who can mend the ship when the pursuing demon falls upon it and breaks it, perhaps a

skilled sailor or helmsman to steer the ship, and a notable man of skill in the shape of a master-rogue or clever thief, who does the actual taking of the princess from the demon or dragon.

In that curious variation of the Rescue type distinguished by the raising of a tower or palace in which to hide the princess from a pursuing demon, the lovers are usually seven. Their accomplishments tend to become so unnatural and so highly specialized that they appear to be constructed merely for purposes of fiction. There are suitors who can beat in seven iron doors with their fists, who can make the ground open at command, who can catch anything falling from the sky, or who can lift and carry any weight; and there is the ubiquitous suitor who, by waving a magic wand, stamping his foot, or utilizing magic skill in masonry, can raise a tower or palace in the wink of an eye. The uses to which these suitors are put are familiar from the tales already summarized.

It is worthy of note that the Rescue type with the incident of the tower seems to be confined to three contiguous regions of Europe, namely, Italy, the Balkans, and Greece, as may be seen from the bibliography.

But in spite of the fact that the suitors are debased in rank for the Rescue type, they remain noble in many other versions. In the Gifts type, they are still almost always sons of a king.

A very marked change is effected in many European versions of *The Contending Lovers* when the suitors are made brothers. In by far the majority of occurrences we find this new feature. It is not at all natural to the earliest Oriental versions, although the change does appear at a late date. The suitors are brothers in the Gifts tale from the *Thousand and One Nights*.

Both the introduction of new and more definitely em-

phasized arts or professions and the introduction of the fraternal relationship are bound up with the almost certain influence of other groups of stories. It is impossible to say just when this influence began to take effect, but we have seen a few of its results in the Orient. One of these outside tales is *The Skilful Companions*.

There is conclusive evidence that *The Skilful Companions* is in origin quite distinct from *The Contending Lovers*. Originally *The Contending Lovers* is itself simple, and the lovers are by no means necessarily skilled. They may base their contentions on rank or on fortuitous service, as in the Caste type or the Resuscitation type. On the other hand, *The Skilful Companions* appears to have had at one time nothing to do with a contest of skill for any maiden; even when it appears in combination it frequently does not involve this incident.

In simple versions of *The Skilful Companions* there are usually three or more expert young men who go out into the world to seek their fortune. Their services are not to win a maiden for themselves. Even when in the more elaborate tales they assist a hero to win a princess, they only play a rôle which is frequently given to helpful animals. Moreover, there is usually no dispute at the end as to which one of the companions deserves the highest reward. In a tale from the *Panchatantra*,⁶ three young men, the son of a merchant, the son of a learned man, and the son of a king, go out into the world to gain fame and fortune, and finally the king's son gains a kingdom.⁷ Nutt points out the frequent appearance of skilful com-

⁶ Ed. Benfey, II, pp. 150 ff., *Der kluge Feind*.

⁷ See also a later Arabic version in the *Kalila u Dimna* summarized and commented upon by Wesselofsky, *Paradiso*, I, ii, pp. 246 ff. For other references see Benfey, work cited, I, pp. 287 ff; also Chauvin, *Bibliographie des Ouvrages Arabes*, VII, pp. 124-5.

panions not only in Celtic folk-tales, but in Celtic heroic saga.⁸ He finds an old instance in the *Imran Curaig ua Corra*, of which there was probably an Irish version in the eleventh century.⁹ In this the travellers take with them a shipbuilder and other skilful companions.

An interesting tale from Madagascar may help to fortify the supposition that originally *The Skilful Companions* existed alone and unconnected with any tale of lovers or of rescue. It should be compared with an incident in Grimm 129, where the four contending lovers are brothers, and where before they leave to rescue the princess their skill is tested by their father. The incident has to do with some eggs in a chaffinch's nest, which the far-seer counts, and the thief steals without the knowledge of the bird. The huntsman breaks all five with one shot, and the tailor mends them so that the bird is able to hatch them. After this the young men rescue the princess. Substantially the same test is applied to the lovers in a Rescue story from Ceylon, which would make it seem that the episode is not a European interpolation, since the source of the Ceylonese tale must almost certainly be Oriental. In the Madagascar tale¹⁰ the test by means of the bird's eggs forms the whole story, and is not used as a mere preface to the larger test of skill involved in rescuing a princess. Three men meet, and each states that he is going to learn a trade. Later they meet again after they have become skilled. To proceed in the words of the story: "Ils virent un ladroinga qui avait pondu des œufs. 'Tire sur les œufs du ladroinga,' dirent-ils au tireur. Il cassa un seul des œufs. 'Va dérober les œufs du ladroinga,

⁸ Notes to Mac Innes, *Folk and Hero Tales*, pp. 445 ff.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 448.

¹⁰ Charles Renel, *Contes de Madagascar*, 1910, no. 91, II, pp. 118 ff., *Les trois Hommes*.

sans qu'il te voie,' dirent-ils au voleur. Il y alla, mais les cassa en les rapportant. 'Répare ces œufs cassés,' dirent-ils à l'ouvrier en bois. Il répara les œufs. Après avoir ainsi montré ce qu'ils savaient faire, chacun s'en retourna chez lui. Quel est le plus habile de ces trois hommes?"

Is this the original simple tale which has been combined with *The Contending Lovers* as an incident? It is, of course, impossible to say that the teller might not have taken the incident from some more complicated tale and made it self-sufficient. But I confess I am inclined to think this probably a descendant of an original simple tale. It no doubt reached Madagascar from the Orient, perhaps through the Arabs.¹¹ This belief is strengthened by the other evidence which tends to show that *The Skilful Companions* is a separate tale unto itself.

The simple story of skilful companions who go out into the world to seek their fortunes becomes combined frequently with a tale in which a hero has a feat to perform, and often this feat is the rescue of a princess. The companions are his helpers. In a tale from the Highlands of Scotland,¹² three prodigiously accomplished men aid a hero to rescue not one, but three, princesses from three giants by finding the maidens for him, and by besting the giants at feats of strength and endurance to which they are challenged. One helper can hear the grass grow, one can drink rivers, and one can eat great quantities of flesh.

A Russian tale from Afanasiev¹³ furnishes a striking example of the way in which the companions, who are in

¹¹ Renel thinks no. 146 of his collection a "conte arabe." (See II, p. 291.)

¹² J. F. Campbell, *Popular Tales of the West Highlands*, no. 16, I, pp. 236 ff.

¹³ Translated by Anton Dietrich, *Russische Volksmärchen*, 1831, no. 3, *Von den sieben Simeonen, den leiblichen Brüdern*.

this case brothers, may rescue a princess for another, and not in any way contend for her. This tale is so close to Rescue versions of *The Contending Lovers* that it may be only a corruption of the lover tale. On the other hand, it may represent an intermediate stage in the development of the skilful companions into contending lovers. The tale may be summarized as follows:

A man and his wife after seven years of unfulfilled desire for children are at last granted seven sons, all of whom are called Simeon. When the parents die, the tsar is struck with the promise shown by the seven boys, and takes them into his palace. "What arts would you like to learn?" he asks each, and each answers that he wants no new art but is already proficient in one. The first can forge a pillar reaching to the sky. The second can climb this pillar and see over all lands. The third with an axe made by the first can construct in a moment a ship. The fourth on necessity can take this ship to the underground kingdom to avoid an enemy. The fifth can hit a bird, no matter how far away, with a gun forged by the first brother. The sixth can catch this bird before it touches the ground. The seventh is a clever thief.

On the advice of his counsellors, the tsar decides to let the seven brothers try to get for him the Tsarevna Yelena the Beautiful. The climber from the top of his pillar sees her, and in a quickly constructed ship the brothers go to her. The thief entices her aboard ship by a clever ruse, but when she finds that they are at sea, she changes herself into a swan. The marksman shoots her, the catcher catches her, and she becomes once more a woman. The tsar from whom she was taken pursues, but the ship is taken to the underworld, and escapes.

There is no strife for the captured beauty. The tale concludes: "Die Simeonen aber fuhren glücklich in ihr Reich, und überlieferten die schöne Zarin Helene dem Zaren Ador, welcher den Simeonen für ihren so grossen Dienst die Freiheit gab und viel Gold und Silber und Edelsteine schenkte. Und er lebte mit der schönen Königin Helene viele Jahre in Glück und Frieden."

But it need not be a princess whom the companions help the hero to rescue. In six Celtic stories of *The Hand and the Child* treated by Professor Kittredge,¹⁴ it is a child.

¹⁴ *Arthur and Gorlagon*, 1903, pp. 223 ff.

According to one of these versions,¹⁵ which may be taken as typical, Finn undertakes to help A Big Young Hero, who has been losing his children in a mysterious manner. He meets seven skilful companions: a carpenter, a tracker, a gripper, a climber, a thief, a listener, a marksman. The carpenter makes a ship, the tracker guides Finn across the sea to the house of the Big Young Hero. At midnight when a child is born, a hand comes down the chimney, which the gripper seizes and wrenches off at the shoulder. The giant outside puts down his other hand and takes the child. Finn, with the aid of his companions, however, rescues the child next morning. The climber scales the castle of the giant, carrying up the thief, who takes the baby, and two other children who had been stolen. The party flees, and the listener hears the giant awake after the band has put to sea. The giant is wading after them, when Finn, who plays the part of the man of knowledge, finds that there is one vulnerable spot on the giant, and this the marksman hits. The adventure is successfully concluded.

This Celtic story is an interesting composite of a tale of the Beowulf type¹⁶ and some tale in which the skilful artisans occur. There is an obvious similarity between the attainments of the helpers in this case and those of the lovers in the versions of *The Contending Lovers* which contain the incident of the ship. Perhaps the Celtic tale derived its skilful companions from some version of *The Contending Lovers* in which a maiden is rescued, the rescue in each case forming the common term which suggested the borrowing. Or, the situation may have been reversed and *The Contending Lovers* have obtained skilled suitors from some tale of rescue like *The Hand and the Child*. Matters are now getting pretty intricate, and we must be careful to keep relationships clear at this point. It is important to remember that both *The Hand and the Child* and the Rescue type of *The Contending Lovers* are

¹⁵ MacDaugal, *Folk and Hero Tales*, no. 1, pp. 1 ff. Summarized at length by Professor Kittredge.

¹⁶ See Kittredge, work cited, p. 227, note 2, for extensive references to literature on the subject.

almost certainly composites, and that no matter which one may have borrowed from the other, the skilful young men are ultimately derived from a simpler tale.

If the companions in the Celtic tale actually do come from some already made combination in *The Contending Lovers*, and not from a simple tale of *The Skilful Companions* where no girl figures as the prize, the following Icelandic tale might be taken as showing an intermediate stage in the combination, since it is much closer to the true tale of contending lovers than *The Hand and the Child*. It also shows elements of the Beowulf story.¹⁷

A king and queen have six daughters. The king's brother and wife have six sons reared in seclusion. The sons finally set out for the court, their mother giving wonderful gifts to four of them to aid them in making their fortunes. The first receives a "knäuel" to show the way, the second a sharp sword which cuts anything, the third a nutshell which can be set on water and quickly converted into a ship, the fourth a powder in a linen sack which makes things bright as day. But the brothers are also endowed with natural gifts and they take appropriate names: Guthauende, Gutwachende, Gutsingende, Gutkletternde, Gutsprende, Gutschlafende. A monster has carried off all the princesses but the youngest. When he comes again, the brothers through their accomplishments watch for him, track him to his castle, kill him and his wife, and rescue the five princesses held by him. Then each prince marries one of the six daughters of his uncle the king.

This tale is interesting in many ways. It is curious because of the material gifts and natural gifts, which are not usually found together. Moreover, the only changes necessary to make it a perfect combination of the contending-lover theme with what we may call the Beowulf theme are the reduction of the six princesses to one and the raising of a dispute about her possession. The brothers perform their rescue much as the companions do in *The*

¹⁷ Adeline Rittershaus, *Die Neuisländischen Volksmärchen*, 1902, no. 42, pp. 177 ff., *Die kunstreichen Brüder*.

Hand and the Child. But even here there is nothing to prove that the skilful brothers do not come from a simple tale of skilful companions or brothers.¹⁸

The Icelandic composite has brought us naturally to a consideration of the brotherhood of the lovers or companions. Tales in which brothers go out into the world to learn something useful, and to make their fortunes, are common in a host of forms. Very often a father or a mother sends the boys out to shift for themselves because of poverty. The interesting peculiarity of such tales is that they seem to be simple; the abilities which the sons acquire are merely told of, or perhaps tested by the parent. A folk-tale from Lorraine¹⁹ is of this class. Here three sons of a widow set out to seek their fortunes, separate at a cross-roads, and return in one year. One has become a clever baker, one a clever locksmith, and the third a marvellously clever thief. The thief is called upon to test his ability by the lord of the neighborhood, and his demonstration suggests the group of tales known as *The Master Thief*. In an African tale,²⁰ an old man who has six sons asks them to choose professions. They choose in turn war, thievery, trading, highway robbery, farming, and blacksmithing. The ending of the tale takes a moral turn, for the first four sons are killed, and the last two prosper. An Irish tale, *Triúr mac na Bárr-sgolóige*,²¹ relates more complicated adventures of skilful brothers who go out into the world to obtain fortune. Grimm 124, *Die drei Brüder*, in which one son becomes a clever blacksmith, the second a barber, and the third a fencing-master, and then demon-

¹⁸ For still other tales of skilful companions see the second part of Benfey's *Ausland* essay (*Kleinere Schriften*, II, iii, pp. 132 ff.).

¹⁹ Cosquin, *Contes populaires de Lorraine*, no. 70, II, pp. 271 ff., *Le Franc Voleur*.

²⁰ S. W. Külle, *African Native Literature*, 1854, no. 4, pp. 145 ff.

²¹ Douglas Hyde, *An Sgéaluidhe Gaelhealach*, no. 32.

state their abilities before their father, will be recalled to mind as another example. Such stories appear to spring from the same folk interest which would produce any tale of skilful companions, namely, the interest in the common professions or trades of the world and the skill which might be attained in them.

Tales of ingenious brothers are related to those of skilful brothers. A French tale²² tells of three brothers to whom their poor father can give only a cat, a cock, and a ladder. By ingenuity and luck each uses his heritage to such good advantage that he gains a fortune, a rich wife, and a castle.²³

The Water of Life is a tale in which the principals are usually three brothers, and which has shown some tendency to mix with both *The Contending Lovers* and *The Skilful Companions*. The simple form of the story, according to Professor Gerould, is something like this:²⁴ "A sick king has three sons, who go out to seek some magical waters (or bird, or fruit) for his healing. The two older sons fall by the way into some misfortune due to their own fault; but the youngest, not without aid of one sort or another from beings with supernatural powers, succeeds in the quest and at the same time wins a princess as wife. While returning, he rescues his brothers, and is exposed by their envy and ingratitude to the loss of all he has gained (sometimes even of his life). In the end, however, he comes to his own either because the cure cannot be completed without him or because his wife brings the older princes to book."

²² Mrs. M. Carey, *Fairy Legends of the French Provinces*, 1887, pp. 183 ff.

²³ For more tales of the sort see Köhler, *Kleinere Schriften*, I, p. 141.

²⁴ *The Grateful Dead*, p. 124.

Even when versions of this tale tell of a princess being won, they are quite distinct from tales of contending lovers. One of their essential conditions is inequality in worth among the brothers, for the youngest proves himself the most deserving, whereas in *The Contending Lovers* it is most necessary that the brothers (or lovers) shall be equally deserving in order that the dispute may have some point. The success of a youngest brother competing with elder brothers is, of course, a favorite folk theme. A princess is often his reward in many tales beside *The Water of Life*. For instance, in a Sicilian tale,²⁵ a king promises his daughter to one who shall make a ship that will travel both on sea and on land. Brothers try the task, but only the youngest, who gains supernatural aid, succeeds. It is the same in a Tuscan tale, *Della figlia del re, che chi buttava qui l'albero, l'aveva per isposa*.²⁶ Of the three brothers the two elder lose their heads through discourtesy to an old woman, while the youngest wins the maid for taking pains to be civil.²⁷

It is not hard to see how the many tales where the youthful heroes are brothers could have exercised their influence, and could soon have turned contending lovers into brothers. Folk-tale conceptions of this sort are constantly flowing from one tale to another.

One of the most notable men of skill introduced into *The Contending Lovers* is the thief. He is found also in many versions of *The Skilful Companions*, and wherever he appears his skill is usually dwelt upon with some gusto. He is a popular member of the professional group. Beyond a doubt this thief has some relationship to the

²⁵ Laura Gonzenbach, *Sicilianische Märchen*, 1870, no. 74, II, pp. 96 ff.

²⁶ Pitre, *Novelle Popolari Toscani*, 1885, no. 17, pp. 115 ff.

²⁷ Cf. Köhler, *Kleinere Schriften*, I, pp. 192-3.

thief in the ancient and widespread cycle of stories dealing with clever thievery, and conveniently called *The Master-Thief*. Perhaps the thief in *The Contending Lovers* has been taken over bodily from these tales of roguery, the popularity of his character making for its inclusion in any group of stories having to do with skilled arts. Certainly he is not found among the lovers in the earliest versions of our tale. He first appears in the Persian *Book of Sindibād*, where he is described as a daring free-booter who can take the prey from the lion's mouth.

A most natural setting for the thief is found in the Rescue type of *The Contending Lovers*, where there is a maiden ready to be snatched from some demon or monster without his knowledge, a situation which the dexterous fellow is eminently fitted to cope with. We find his skill variously described in our versions. He can steal the eggs from under a bird without her knowing it,²⁸ or can steal a thing by merely saying, "Let it be here!"²⁹ Sometimes he can steal a lamb while it is at suck without its mother noticing the loss,³⁰ and it is often simply stated that he can take anything from anybody without his knowing it. Or, perhaps he can strip a man asleep without his being aware of it.³¹

It will take only a few of the many instances which might be gathered to show how close the characteristics of the thief in *The Contending Lovers* are to those of the master-thief. In *The Two Thieves*, a Roumanian-Gypsy tale,³² a town thief and a country thief have a test of skill. The country thief steals eggs from under a crow, a feat much like the one performed in the contending-lover tale

²⁸ Grimm 129.

²⁹ Wratislaw 9.

³⁰ Pineau, *Rev. des Trad. Pop.*, XII, pp. 201 ff.

³¹ Pio, tale 3 of *The Golden Casket*.

³² Groome, *Gypsy Folk-Tales*, 1899, pp. 41 ff.

Grimm 129, but in the meanwhile the city thief steals the breeches from off his colleague.³³ Almost the same feats are performed under different circumstances in a tale from Kashmir.³⁴ A royal mother wants her son educated in the profession of thievery to help her in her nefarious designs, and the boy proves a brilliant pupil. To show his skill, he steals an egg from under a hawk without her knowing it, and a pair of pajamas from off the body of an unsuspecting laborer. No matter how difficult it may be, the master-thief is always equal to his task. Cases will at once suggest themselves where he is even successful in stealing persons without their knowing that they are being kidnapped.³⁵

Another combination with *The Contending Lovers* which is easy to understand is that of what we may call the magic things. The resulting composite is the Gifts type. Even in the earlier Oriental stories of contending lovers no distinction is made between service for the maiden performed by skill and that rendered through the possession of some magic thing. Thus in the Rescue type, one suitor has a magic chariot or conveyance of some sort, while others have exceptional skill in various arts. It is an easy step to make all the suitors possessors of magic things efficacious for performing the service needed. The change may be due to influence from tales where magic

³³ Without attempting to go into the question I give an interesting comment by Groome on this tale: "Dr. Barbu Constantinescu's 'Two Thieves' is so curious a combination of the 'Rhampsinitus' story in Herodotus and of Grimm's Master Thief, that I am more than inclined to regard it as the lost original which, according to Campbell of Islay, 'it were vain to look for in any modern work or in any modern age.'" (Work cited, p. 52.)

³⁴ Knowles, *Folk-Tales of Kashmir*, 1893, pp. 110 ff.

³⁵ As in Grimm 192, Cosquin, *Contes pop. de Lorraine*, II, pp. 271 ff., and other cases. See Köhler, *Kleinere Schriften*, I, pp. 255 ff.

gifts play prominent parts in advancing the fortunes of the hero. In the uses to which they are put the familiar seven-league boots or wishing carpet of so many stories are extremely similar to the magic chariot or the magic ship with which contending lovers are wont to reach their princess. Things of magic virtue which bring people or animals back to life after they have been killed are of enormous variety and occur in numberless tales.³⁶

On the possible intermixtures with *The Contending Lovers* which would influence the character and service of the suitors I have barely touched in the preceding few pages. Many versions of our tale show evidences of contact and fusion with surrounding folk-lore which might be profitably studied at length. But it has become clear that with all the minglings and changes which have taken place *The Contending Lovers* has not been altered in any of its essentials. Though the lovers have often been increased, their characters changed, and incidents juggled about, the point of the story remains as self-evident as ever. The tale still deals with service by several lovers for the same maid, and since all the lovers still contribute very necessary things to the common end, the dispute between them as to relative merit almost always rises.

It is true that in Europe, because of the emphasis laid upon the professions of the rivals and the popularity of the Rescue type, claims based upon intrinsic worth, such as might be manifested in caste or nobility, grow infrequent. Nevertheless, in the Gifts type, the lovers have not become artisans at all, and they perform service which is more fortuitous than skilled.

So far our examination of *The Contending Lovers* has shown only a general resemblance between that tale and

³⁶ See a short treatment by W. R. S. Ralston, *Russian Folk-Tales*, 1873, pp. 231 ff.

Chaucer's *Parlement of Foules*. The versions we have studied, by multiplying the number of the suitors and focusing attention on their technical skill, have departed from the form of the story which must have been known to Chaucer. The features we have next to discuss may well cause us to revert to the *Parlement*. These features are the assemblies held to decide the dispute, the arguments of the lovers, the right of self-choice which is often granted to the maiden, and the final inability of judge or maiden to reach a decision. All may be regarded as to a greater or less degree characteristic of *The Contending Lovers*, and all throw light on the *Parlement*.

THE DISPUTE AND THE COURT

The assembly for the disposition of the maid and its accompanying parliamentary discussion often appear in embryonic stages, and the development of the idea may be easily traced. Sometimes there are mere statements that a dispute is held, or brief descriptions of an argument before the father of the girl, and again there are much more elaborate descriptions of an actual court with a presiding judge.

A dispute without a judge occurs, it will be remembered, in the second tale of the *Vetālapanchavinsati*. We are told: "Là-dessus, voilà les trois brâhmanes qui, aveuglés par la colère, se disputent la jeune fille."³⁷ In the fifth of the same collection, the father of the girl is called upon to pass judgment: "Der Vater überlegte: 'Alle haben Hülfe geleistet, wem soll ich sie nun geben, und wem nicht?'"³⁸ The deliberative character of the father is expanded in the seventh *Vetāla* tale, where four

³⁷ Tr. Henry, *Rev. des Trad. Pop.*, I, p. 371.

³⁸ Tr. Benfey, *Kleinere Schriften*, II, iii, p. 98.

suitors present their claims in turn with brief speeches and in orderly fashion. Then the father says, "The four are equal in excellence and attainments—to which shall I give the maiden?"³⁹

The suitors in the story of the wooden woman (Creation type) in the *Tūti-Nāma* actually agree to take their case before a judge, and this leads to some amusing complications, and the final changing of the woman back into wood.⁴⁰

So the basic idea of a court was present in the Oriental versions, and even received some development. However, once the tale reaches Europe this same idea appears in a variety of forms. The extensive elaboration in the *Paradiso* has been already discussed. Another early Italian handling of the court conception from the Rescue tale told by Morlinus and Straparola is interesting. Straparola says:⁴¹ "But with regard to the lady, seeing it was not possible to divide her into three parts, there arose a sharp dispute between the brothers as to which one of them should retain her, and the wrangling over this point to decide who had the greatest claim to her was very long. Indeed, up to this present day it is still before the court: wherefore we shall each settle the cause as we think right, while the judge keeps us waiting for his decision." Straparola's ending is a free translation of that in Morlinus:⁴² "Post longas disceptationes, adhuc sub Palae-mone jacet quaestio; Quis eorum in pari causa aglaeam indivisibilem meretur. Ipse vero tibi lectori argumentis judicandum relinquo."

The fact that a court was held is taken for granted

³⁹ Tr. Barker, *Baitāl Pachīstī*, p. 162.

⁴⁰ Tr. for J. Debrett, pp. 51 ff. See p. 268 above.

⁴¹ Tr. Waters, p. 73.

⁴² Hieronymi Morlini, *Parthenopei, Novellae*, etc., 1855, p. 155.

here. Incidentally, it is doubtful if any one instance could make plainer the fact that *The Contending Lovers* was still regarded as a hoax story, lacking a definite decision.

An extensive elaboration of the court scene is probably a sign of sophistication, but other simple versions besides the one told by Morlinus and Straparola have short references to an actual court or a parliament. The lovers go to a "courte-paille" in a Breton Rescue tale, for we are told:⁴³ "Les quatre frères ramenèrent la princesse au palais du roi; comme elle devait épouser son libérateur, et que tous les quatre avaient contribué a sa délivrance, ils tirèrent a la courte-paille pour savoir celui qui deviendrait le gendre du roi." In this case the deadlock is broken, and the decision falls to the tailor.

Sometimes it is expressly stated that people come to the judgment from all sides and that the hearing is held before a great assemblage.⁴⁴ In other versions the lovers may find difficulty in obtaining a judge. In a Serbian Rescue tale,⁴⁵ the brothers first go to the Mother of the Wind, who directs them to the Mother of the Moon, who directs them to the Mother of the Sun, who finally directs them to their own mother; and in a Bohemian Gifts tale,⁴⁶ the question is thrown open to anyone who thinks himself wise enough to settle it.

There is one Breton tale in which the court scene is so much expanded, and which is so startlingly close in essential character to the judgment in the *Parlement of Foules*,

⁴³ Sébillot, p. 59.

⁴⁴ As in Meyer, p. 121, an Albanian Rescue story, and Jones-Kropf, p. 156, a Magyar Gifts story. In the latter "all the learned and old people of the realm" are called together.

⁴⁵ Jagić, *Arch. f. Slav. Phil.*, v, p. 37.

⁴⁶ Naaké, p. 206.

that I quote part of it in full. The version is of the Rescue type with the incident of the ship. The court is described as follows:⁴⁷

Les six frères étaient amoureux de la Princesse, et chacun d'eux prétendait avoir le plus de droits à obtenir sa main. Comme ils ne pouvaient s'entendre à ce sujet, ils convinrent de s'en rapporter au jugement de leur père. Chacun d'eux exposa donc ses raisons et ses prétendus droits aux vieux seigneur, assis sur un fauteuil, comme un juge sur son tribunal, et ayant à côté de lui la Princesse.

L'aîné, le grimpeur, parla d'abord et dit:

C'est moi, qui, au péril de ma vie, ai enlevé la Princesse du château où le monstre la retenait captive.

Et c'est moi, dit le constructeur de bâtiments, qui ai construit le bâtiment qui vous a conduits à l'île et vous en a ensuite ramenés.

(The pleading continues in this fashion until each of the six suitors has placed his claims before the judge.)

Le vieux seigneur était fort embarrassé et ne savait en faveur duquel de ses fils se prononcer, leur trouvant à tous des droits incontestables, si bien que l'on finit par décider, et c'était bien le plus sage, que ce serait la Princesse elle-même qui ferait son choix.

L'histoire ne dit pas duquel des six frères elle donna le préférence; mais, moi, je croirais volontiers que ce fut au devineur, parce qu'il était le plus instruit, le plus jeune, et surtout le plus joli garçon.

In this remarkable modern folk-tale we find most of the essential similarities to the *Parlement* that occur in the *Paradiso*, and one which is not there. The sitting of the judge on the "fauteuil" with the girl beside him while the suitors plead for themselves instead of having advocates to plead for them reminds us somewhat more strongly of the scene in the *Parlement* with Nature holding the formel eagle in her hand. Like both *Paradiso* and *Parlement*, the folk-tale has the judge put the decision up to the maiden herself. Exceedingly significant is the statement of the teller that there is nothing in the real story to indicate what decision she really made. With a

⁴⁷ Luzel, pp. 324 ff.

show of honesty that is at once an invitation to discussion, the teller separates his own opinions from the actual traditional facts.

The evidence shows conclusively, then, that the court scene, embryonic or developed, is a native feature of *The Contending Lovers*. Even when the suitors wrangle among themselves with no other persons present, they may be regarded as holding a court without the judge.

The development of the court may be partly due to an intermixture from other tales. The idea of a court or parliament held to decide some question is by no means uncommon in folk-tales. Nevertheless, there is no great need to go far outside *The Contending Lovers* itself for the material found in its descriptions of the lovers' court. Some of the elaboration here could be explained by an every-day interest of the tellers in actual court trials with which they were familiar.

THE SVAYAMVARA

A notable feature of the *Parlement of Foules* which has rarely failed to attract attention, no matter what the interpretation put upon the poem, is the permission given to the formel by Dame Nature to choose her own mate. In Giovanni da Prato's *Paradiso*, substantially the same grant is made by Jove to Melissa,⁴⁸ and so is it given to the maiden in several other versions of *The Contending Lovers*. In spite of the usual belief that woman in the East plays but a small part in the making of her own marriage, the convention of self-choice as found in our tales probably is of Oriental origin. The public choice of a husband by a princess from among a number of noble suitors assembled for the purpose was a well-recognized

⁴⁸ See *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XXXII, p. 499.

proceeding in ancient India, and the custom was called the *svayamvara*, literally *self-choice*.

Among the Oriental versions of our tale, the maiden is granted the self-choice in the Caste story which is the seventh of the *Vetālapanchavinsati*. It will be remembered that when the princess cannot choose between certain youths whom her father proposes as likely husbands, he tells her to make choice of a husband herself, and she then says she must have a mate who is at once the happy possessor of good looks, good qualities, and good sense. After the four qualifying suitors present themselves and argue, the perplexed father goes to the daughter, explains the claims, and asks her to make final decision among the four. "On hearing this statement, she was abashed, and hanging down her head, knew not what to reply."⁴⁹

By way of reviewing the evidence, it may be well to point out that the self-choice is also definitely given to the maiden in the following versions which have been already included in the summary:

Resuscitation.—Ceylonese, Parker 74.

Rescue.—Breton, Luzel 9; Albanian, Dozon, p. 27; Albanian, Meyer 8; Danish, Grundtvig 17; Slavic, Wenzig, p. 140.

Gifts.—Slavic, Krauss 63; Roumanian-Gypsy, Groome 13; Spanish, Caballero-Ingram, p. 22; Portuguese, Pedroso-Monteiro 23; African, Velten, p. 71.

These versions are by no means a majority, but the incident of self-choice crops up too frequently not to be tradition rightfully belonging to *The Contending Lovers* under certain conditions. We have found it in *Vetāla* 7, one of the oldest versions, in the medieval version from the *Paradiso*, and in the modern versions of varying types collected above.

⁴⁹ Barker, *Baitāl Pachisi*, p. 162.

The ancient Indian epics give plentiful information as to how the *svayamvara* is usually held. Great pomp and ceremony attend the event. After the father has notified "the princes of the earth" that his daughter is to choose a husband at the *svayamvara*, an amphitheatre is often made ready, and costly decorations are strewn about. On the day of the choice the princes stand in array in the amphitheatre. How the maid signifies her will is told in a description of Kunti's *svayamvara* from the *Mahā-bharata*.⁵⁰

The large-eyed daughter of Kunti-bhoja, Pritha by name, was endued with beauty and every accomplishment. Of rigid vows, she was devoted to virtue, and possessed every good quality. But though endued with beauty and youth and every womanly attribute, yet it so happened that no king asked for her hand. Her father Kunti-bhoja, seeing this, invited, O best of monarchs, the princes and kings of other countries and desired his daughter to elect her husband from among his guests. The intelligent Kunti, entering the amphitheatre, beheld Pāndu—the foremost of the Bharatas—that tiger among kings—in that concourse of crowned heads. Proud as the lion, broad-chested, bull-eyed, endued with great strength, and out-shining in splendour all other monarchs, he looked like another Indra in that royal assemblage. The amiable daughter of Kunti-bhoja, of faultless features, beholding Pāndu, that best of men in that assembly, became very much agitated. And advancing with modesty, all the while quivering with emotion, she placed the nuptial garland round Pāndu's neck. The other monarchs, seeing Kunti choose Pāndu for her lord, returned to their respective kingdoms, on elephants, horses, and cars, as they came.

The *svayamvara* and the mediæval tournament for a lady's hand seem to be two institutions with similarities, but not necessarily related.⁵¹ Nor does the tournament

⁵⁰ The *Mahābharata in English*, translated by Pratāpa Chandra Rāy, Calcutta, 1889—. *Adi Parva*, Section CXII, pp. 332 ff. In spite of the obvious shortcomings of this translation due to somewhat infelicitous use of English idiom I must use it for lack of a better.

⁵¹ The resemblance is especially striking when feats of strength or skill are performed at the *svayamvara*, as sometimes happens. (See

seem to have influenced perceptibly the self-choice as it is found in the usual story of *The Contending Lovers*. That feature of the tale bears the stamp of its Oriental origin.

The right of self-choice, then, may be regarded as a bit of elaboration which has attached itself to our tale. The conditions do not require that such a privilege should be conferred upon the maid in order that the desired *dénoûment* may be reached, but they are unquestionably favorable to the introduction of the incident. Suspense is heightened when the problem is laid before the maid, and the resulting situation is one that naturally makes its own appeal to the interest of an audience. When, after consideration, the maid finds that even she, who is most concerned in the outcome of the controversy, cannot arrive at a decision, greater emphasis is laid on the fact that the solution of the problem is actually impossible.

The self-choice is capable of being attached to stories which show no good indication of ever having belonged to *The Contending Lovers*. Such is the case in a modern peasant tale from Ukraine.⁵² Three brothers come to woo a girl, and the father thinks them all worthy of her. He

account of Draupadi's *Svayamvara*, *Mahābharata*, tr. Rāy, *Adi Parva*, section CLXXXVII, pp. 524 ff.) There are stories of mediæval tournaments which have almost all the features of the Oriental *svayamvara*. In *Ipomedon*, for example, the daughter of the Duke of Calabria, when she is besought by her barons to take a husband, requests that a three days' tournament be announced for her hand, expecting *Ipomedon* to win her. (Ed. Kölbing and Koschwitz, 1889, ll. 2515-52, p. 43.) Instances from romances might be multiplied beyond necessity. *Sir Triamour*, *Sir Gowther*, *Le Bone Florence de Rome*, *Parthenope of Blois*, and *Sir Degravant* all furnish instances of jousts where the fair lady is the prize.

⁵² Friedrich S. Krauss, *Das Geschlechtsleben des Ukrainischen Bauernvolkes*, 1909, Teil I, pp. 248 ff., *Das hoffnungsvolle, sündige Fleisch*.

decides to let the girl herself choose, and upon being called and viewing the young men, she does so. The details connected with her choice are generally obscene.

But it is evident that the *svayamvara* does not of itself produce an insoluble love problem, for in the Indian epics the maiden usually finds no difficulty in discovering a preference for some one of the suitors arrayed before her. Yet when combined with *The Contending Lovers*, the *svayamvara* may be made to complicate the problem by heightening the suspense. Our tale is *par excellence* the story of a love problem. In the Oriental versions this is usually made clear beyond peradventure of doubt by the settings in which it is placed. In Europe the story has at times been corrupted so that one suitor or another is made to gain a favorable decision, but in such cases the narrator's preference has been allowed to color the story. Thus *The Contending Lovers* presents a true *questione d'amore* formulated by the Orientals before the principles of courtly love were established in European society.

THE ENDING OF THE TALE

Although uncorrupted versions of our tale have in common a lack of definite decision, the means adopted to set the problem and yet wind up the story in some satisfactory fashion are many and ingenious. We have seen that a narrator may say flat-footedly, as did Morlinus and Straparola,⁵³ that the case is still under discussion. But some tellers are loath to leave matters thus wholly in the air. In the *Pentamerone*,⁵⁴ the girl is, not without comic intent, adjudged to the father of the skilful suitors, since no ground of preference can be discovered among the contestants themselves. The reason given is that he is respon-

⁵³ See p. 312 above.

⁵⁴ See p. 285 above.

sible for having the sons instructed in their arts. The father is similarly rewarded in Velten, p. 71. A fanciful and poetic conclusion occurs in four European Rescue versions.⁵⁵ The suitors and the girl, when it is realized that no decision can be reached, are taken up to Heaven miraculously, where they become stars. Grundtvig 17 adds that the princess twinkles most brightly, and that the feeblest star of the galaxy is the master-thief. In a Serbian Gifts version,⁵⁶ the despairing suitors retreat to a desert and become hermits, while the princess marries another. The maid in a Spanish Gifts version⁵⁷ rises smiling from her coffin and says, "You see, father, that I must marry all three of them,"—a comic touch which recalls a story of a *svayamvara* in the ancient *Jātaka*.⁵⁸ Here the maiden cannot decide which of five princes to elect and consequently takes them all.

Often the suitors are not given the desired maiden, but are mollified with gifts of great wealth, or of kingdoms to rule, or of other maidens to wife, and with these rewards they declare themselves perfectly satisfied. Such conclusions as these would seem to arise from a repugnance on the part of the narrators and the folk in general at leaving the threads of a story untied. It is felt that the suitors deserve happiness, even though Fate has been so unkind as to make them principals in a hopeless love tangle. Consequently the "happy ending" is added as best may be.

In conclusion it may be reiterated that *The Contending Lovers* belongs to a broad class of literature which has always had vogue, and which will probably never lose its

⁵⁵ Grundtvig 17; Krauss 32 and 33; Jagić 46.

⁵⁶ Mijatovics-Denton, p. 230.

⁵⁷ Caballero-Ingram, p. 22.

⁵⁸ See *The Jātaka*, tr. H. T. Francis, 1905, no. 536, v, pp. 226 ff.

infinite variety. For centuries people have been interested in discussing problems raised by the literature they read or hear. Riddles have long been popular for themselves, and have also been introduced into the plots of folk-tale or ballad. The medieval *questioni d'amore* appealed to the same natural desire for interesting and discussable problems that gave popularity to *The Contending Lovers*; the *questioni*, however, were sophisticated manifestations of the general tendency to create love problems. To-day we discuss the problem novel and the problem play.

IV

THE PARLEMENT OF FOULES

As was said at the beginning, an attempt to classify Chaucer's *Parlement of Foules* arbitrarily among folk versions of *The Contending Lovers* is unnecessary. But a very brief statement of possibilities, now that the material is before us, may be pardoned.

The *Parlement* beyond question holds a love problem, whether it has allegorical reference to a marriage in the royal house or not. The story presenting this love problem has certain features distinctive of *The Contending Lovers*:—arguments of the lovers based on love service and nobility, a court scene, a judge, general discussion, granting of choice to the maiden, an indefinite conclusion. These features are so unusual in combination that they settle the matter of a general relationship. The *Parlement* is a tale of contending lovers.

But the *Parlement* has gone far from any simple folk version which we have been able to find. It is nearest to the sophisticated tale of the founding of Prato in Giovanni da Prato's *Il Paradiso degli Alberti*, but even this tale has characteristics which make us certain that in

itself it does not explain the *Parlement*. In place of human lovers Chaucer gives us birds, a fanciful departure from the usual which can be explained naturally enough as I have tried to show in another paper,¹ but which is none the less a large departure. Chaucer, with an appreciative eye to dramatic worth, dwells almost exclusively on the court scene, and what the lovers have done to deserve the formel we can only guess from their impassioned but none too specific speeches. Chaucer thus gives us only part of the story, though it is the most interesting and picturesque part. Obviously the tale has been much changed by Chaucer himself or by a predecessor, and changed according to cultivated notions of what love rivalry ought to be, most especially notions found in the tenets of courtly love.

This means that we cannot clearly discern to which type of *The Contending Lovers* the version behind the *Parlement* belonged, since the logical classification of types rests largely on the character of service performed by the lovers. But venturesomely we may say that the *Parlement* shows more family resemblance to the Resuscitation type and the Caste type than the others. The reasons are these:

I. The earliest and most normal Resuscitation versions have no professions fastened upon the lovers. This is also true of the very popular Gifts type, which is related to the Resuscitation group, and in which the youths buy magic gifts instead of learning wonderful accomplishments. Consequently the services performed are less materialistic and approach more nearly to courtly love service. Acts of love such as the mounting of the funeral pyre to be consumed by the same fire which burns the

¹ *The Fowls in Chaucer's Parlement*, *University of Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature*, no. 2 (1918), pp. 341 ff.

loved one's body, or the building of a hut in the cemetery to guard the tomb of the maid, which occur in *Vetālapanchavinsati* 2, could be understood by a disciple of courtly love. So could the act of the first suitor in the Persian *Senguehassen-Battissi*, tale 10, part 3, who asks for the boon of lifting the covering on the bier to take one last look at the maiden, and thus discovers signs of life.

II. The Caste version *Vetālapanchavinsati* 7, which shows some hints of an affinity for the Resuscitation type, since one suitor has the power of bringing the dead to life, lays most emphasis on difference in class among the suitors. While in many other versions the lovers are all equally noble, here the difference helps to make the love problem, much as in the *Parlement*.²

III. The self-choice first appears in a Caste version, *Vetālapanchavinsati* 7, and is afterward especially popular in that split from the Resuscitation type, the Gifts type. This argument is at best doubtful, for the self-choice also appears in a few European Rescue versions.

IV. The *Paradiso* version, which is closest to Chaucer, is of the Resuscitation type.

As for Chaucer's getting hold of *The Contending Lovers*, we know that this was in every way possible, and we need not worry overmuch about lost steps in the transmission. The tale was popular in Italy both before and during Chaucer's lifetime, as recorded versions testify. Chaucer may have heard the story told, but from the elegantly dressed and generally gallant character of the *Parlement* love story and from what we know of Chaucer's own character we should judge that more likely he read it.

WILLARD EDWARD FARNHAM.

²This is also true of the redaction of the *Vetāla* story in the *Kathā-Sarīt-Sāgara*.

XV.—THE *LUDUS COVENTRIAE* AND THE DIGBY MASSACRE

A vague suggestion has been in the air of late that there is a more than casual similarity between the so-called *Ludus Coventriae* and the plays of the Digby Manuscript.¹ The following paper is an attempt to render that suggestion somewhat more concrete and to define the nature of that relation. First, however, it is clearly necessary to deal with the questions of the structure and development of the *Ludus Coventriae* before its external relations may be considered. Miss Swenson's recent careful study is perhaps most valuable in its metrical analysis; but even this must be tested in the light of Miss Block's somewhat more fruitful examination of the manuscript, which in turn neglects the metrical form of the plays.² Miss Swen-

¹ Ward comments on the Digby play thus: "The earlier part of this play has nothing to differentiate it very specially from the *Coventry Plays*" (*History of Dramatic Literature*, London, 1899, I, p. 93); Gregory Smith observes that the Digby *Massacre* is "reminiscent in parts of the Chester Plays, in parts of the Coventry Cycle" (*The Transition Period*, N. Y., 1900, p. 284); Pollard comments on the *LC* as follows: "In language, in meter, in tone, in the elaborate stage directions, in the proclamation of the play by the wandering banner-bearers or *vexillatores*, this cycle appears to bear close affinities to the later miracle plays, such as the Croxton play on the *Sacrement*, and the play of *Mary Magdalen*, and with the early moralities, such as the *Castell of Perseverance*, all of which are of East Midland origin, and to the East Midlands I feel sure that it will eventually be assigned" (*English Miracle Plays*, Oxford, 1909, fifth ed., p. xxxviii). Other comment of the kind will be found in Chambers, *Mediaeval Stage*, Oxford, 1903, II, pp. 421 ff.; Wells, *Manual of the Writings in Middle English*, New Haven, 1916, p. 575; Dodds, *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, IX, pp. 88 ff.

² E. L. Swenson, "An Inquiry into the Composition and Structure of the *Ludus Coventriae*," *Studies in Lang. and Lit.*, number one,

son is led to believe that the "tumbling" lines mark the chief additions to the cycle; but the changes noted by Miss Block which are indicated by manuscript disturbance go far beyond these in certain respects. We are justified, therefore, in using the evidence from both sources as a basis for a new study, with the hope that further and more specific conclusions may be reached.

The cycle with which we have to deal seems to be unique because its manuscript, subject-matter, and verse-structure show not merely that it has been added to, but that as a whole it is found in the very process of revision.³ Although subsequently used for acting, its revision had not been finished. The chief scribe, in this case at least,

Univ. of Minnesota, Minneapolis, 1914; K. S. Block, *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, x, pp. 47 ff. I shall not take up Miss Dodds's investigation (*MLR*, ix, pp. 79 ff.), which is satisfactorily reviewed by Professor Craig in relation to Miss Swenson's theories in the volume with her study, pp. 81 ff., and by Miss Block in the article cited in relation to her views. Miss Block unfortunately seems to have neglected Miss Swenson's study. For the sake of clearness in comparisons I have adhered entirely to Miss Swenson's metrical distinctions and terminology, and perhaps unwisely in one respect: namely, in that in most cases I have accepted her classification of the "tumbling" lines and have made them a criterion for the group of plays unrelated to the general prologue. But, as I later point out, long lines of four-stress measure are sometimes difficult to distinguish from some of the tumbling lines so far as meter is concerned, and some of these lines appear in the prologue stanza. On the whole, the stanzaic form has proved to be a surer test, and it will be found that I have kept this in mind.

³ The evidence from this cycle should be brought to bear on the problem of revisions in other cycles. Cf. *Mod. Philol.*, xv, p. 556 and n. 2. It should be observed here that so far no proof is established that the prologue and its group are older than the rest of the cycle. The prologue shows signs of adaptation as much as the plays (Chambers, II, p. 419, builds on this fact), although the prologue group may in certain respects seem the more primitive. Cf. Swenson, p. 62.

is also the compiler.⁴ He was adapting a set of plays which had a general prologue to others which had none and which seem not to have belonged to an ordinary cycle. He had finished putting the plays in order and numbering them in sequence; but in the prologue he had corrected only so far as the sixteenth (originally fourteenth) pageant and that not completely. The prologue, as it was originally, is all to be found here, except, perhaps, in the case of the stanzas twelve and thirteen (now fourteen and fifteen) which are quatrains, but which, if additions, must have been substituted before the work of the scribe who revised the numbering or at a different step in the process of adaptation. Furthermore, the stanzas of the "tende pagent," which because of their subject-matter could hardly have been the original tenth in the prologue, show that additions were made before the present corrections. Apparently the scribe copied the prologue, making additions along the way, and then altered the numbering to conform with the present cycle.⁵ From this situation, and from the fact that the scribe of the prologue and most of the plays is also the writer of some of the later additions, it seems practically certain that this compiler effected his work in more than one stage. Therefore the condition of

⁴Miss Swenson, p. 55, and Miss Block, p. 54, note that in play XXVII, p. 263 (I shall use Halliwell's numbering and pagination for convenience in reference throughout) the scribe changed his mind several times as to what scene to insert. If Miss Block's study of the handwriting is accurate (pp. 54-5), there is another scribe of importance who is responsible for the addition of folios 95, 96, 112, and who added notes in later plays. His work comes after that of the chief compiler: see his additions p. 357 (Miss Block, p. 55).

⁵Miss Swenson, p. 4, says that the numbering of the plays "is in a hand contemporary with that of the scribe." Is it the work of the later scribe (n. 4 above), whose handwriting "may possibly be of the same general period" (Swenson, p. 39)?

the manuscript alone may not always reveal what is an addition and what is not.

Although this fact considerably complicates the problem, the evidence of subject-matter and verse structure may be fairly secure. For where the prologue agrees with some of the plays in both matter and form, one may reasonably suppose that they belong together. To associate the prologue with certain plays in this way, or certain plays with certain other plays in a similar way, is not to imply a common authorship necessarily for the group so determined. It is merely to indicate that they belong together, perhaps because of common authorship, or because they belong to the same school or period or region which distinguishes them from some other group. The metrical test has its dangers; but certainly no more than the impressionistic test of style. Although metrical form may be a poor test for authorship, it may give valuable information of a fairly reliable sort as to provenance or period. In substance as well as in meter the prologue agrees with the following plays: I, II (with the addition of the "ballad" meter), XXI, XXII, XLII.⁶ The stanza is non-alliterative, four-stress, tail-rhyme *ababababcedddc*, with sometimes only one or two stresses in the bob-lines. Occasionally a stanza is divided by the speeches. The variations from this norm are rare and trifling in the prologue and the plays mentioned, with hardly more range in the meter than from iambs to anapaests. In other plays: X, XII, and XIX, there are some stanzas in the prologue meter along with a great variety of other meters; but these plays furnish manuscript evidence of having been disturbed. With some justification, therefore, we

⁶I and II are connected in the manuscript, but XXI and XXII are separated by a page and a half blank. Play XXI begins with folio 112 in a different hand.

may take this stanza as characterizing one unit of the plays. Yet in play III the subject-matter agrees with that of the prologue, evidence of manuscript disturbance has not been found, and here the prologue stanza appears with many variations in rhyme. Almost the same condition is found in plays XXXIX and XL.⁷ On the other hand, the stanza is distinguished from certain other forms in the cycle by manuscript evidence, where a change to or from the prologue stanza is accompanied by the fact of inserted leaves. Thus the succession of double quatrains in plays XXV and XXVI, otherwise unbroken, is interrupted by an interpolated leaf containing three prologue stanzas preceded by a quatrain and followed by a double quatrain.⁸ Here the scribe may be using a leaf from an earlier form of his play, but at any rate he has introduced a change. In XXVII again, there is a long interpolation with three prologue stanzas and stanzas of the ballad measure.⁹ One is led to suspect on this account that the prologue meter is found in parts of the cycle which originally do not belong to the rest.

⁷ Hemingway, *Eng. Nativity Plays*, N. Y., 1909, p. xxxiv, thinks that play III is a composite. In XXXIX Miss Swenson finds a discrepancy with the prologue, urging (p. 60) that only one angel appears "whereas the Prologue states that there shall be two," and that at the end of the play Peter makes a speech not mentioned in the prologue. But the latter is comprehensible, since, as Miss Swenson points out, Peter's speech is consistent with the Biblical narrative and is only incidental. Peter's name happens to be omitted in the manuscript, and the speech may not have been assigned to him. And as to the angels, Miss Swenson has overlooked the Latin stage direction calling for "duobis angelis sedentibus in albis." It is true that only one speaks.

⁸ The quatrain may be original here (p. 252) or taken from the stanza on p. 256 (cf. Miss Swenson, p. 53), where, we may note, it is interwoven by rhyme with the preceding as well as the following lines. For the leaf see Miss Block's study, p. 53.

⁹ P. 263. See Swenson, p. 55; Block, p. 54.

Other points to be noted about the prologue stanza are that it does not appear at all in those parts of the cycle denoted by Miss Block as the first and second sections of the Passion, although here the ballad meter (which is associated with it in play II) is used; and that the plays in which it appears are united by other characteristics, such as the Latin stage-directions (here we may include Plays III, XXXIX, and XL). Since it is obvious that if the prologue belonged originally to a separate unit it had its cycle of plays, it seems scarcely hazardous to believe that the plays indicated once belonged to that cycle.

Further support for this view is gained, moreover, from the fact that another variety of meter largely used in the cycle appears from the evidence of manuscript and subject-matter to belong to another source. This is the "tumbling" meter, found in single and double quatrains, and sometimes in a stanza somewhat like that of the prologue. As we have it here, it seldom shows alliteration and then, perhaps, for a special dramatic effect. The appearance is usually marked by a discrepancy in subject-matter between the lines in which it appears and the prologue description of those lines, or by manuscript disturbance. In play IV, the Lameth and Cain episode, a notable addition in subject-matter, uses the meter; and probably the preceding dialogue between the angel and Noah, which is in the same form, belongs to the same group. The form is especially common in the *Contemplacio*-group, and also in the *Betrothal*, where, although the prologue stanza appears, there is evidence of manuscript disturbance.¹⁰ In play XV, the tumbling meter is used for the cherry tree episode (p. 145), and it appears frequently in the Passion sections (where the parallels to

¹⁰ Swenson, p. 29; Block, p. 51.

the prologue are seriously broken) interrupted by the interpolated leaves already mentioned. In play XXIX there is an inconsistency in speeches of the tumbling meter itself: ¹¹ *Contemplacio* (p. 290) refers to the coming trial but does not mention Herod as taking part. The trial is to be in the hands of Annas, Caiaphas, and Pilate. And yet immediately Herod appears, speaking in the same meter in three stanzas, two of which are double quatrains, one of which is somewhat similar to that of the prologue; and he figures in the later play of the trial. Manuscript evidence shows that play XXIX is a composite; ¹² there is no preparation for it in the general prologue; and apparently it was put together after the time of the chief compilation. But since the plays of the tumbling meter clearly do not belong to a harmonious cycle of the sort with which we are familiar, the inconsistency in the material drawn from this group (which has in any case been rearranged and has suffered great changes) does not argue against associating them as coming from a source distinct from that of the prologue group.

The plays with the tumbling meter are otherwise united by their use of English stage-directions, although this is not a steady criterion.¹³ In general they show somewhat

¹¹ Compare, p. 128, the visit which in some speeches is to last three months and in others is finished during the play. This point is discussed below (note 28).

¹² Miss Block, p. 53. Miss Swenson, p. 56, says that the prologue of the doctors is written in a different hand, that it is followed by two blank folios, and that "the hand in which *Contemplacio*'s speech is written seems to differ both from that of the usual scribe and also from that of the doctor's prologue."

¹³ The argument from the character of the stage directions is complicated by the fact that Latin was apparently used by the compiler, as in play IV (*Lameth* episode, pp. 44-6), or in plays VIII and IX with English (in the *Contemplacio* group), and on p. 90 (note "*Ysakar*" and cf. "*Abizachar*," p. 134. Miss Swenson, p. 33, sug-

greater skill and a somewhat richer material. And there is some indication that they have used at least one literary source in common.¹⁴

One serious difficulty remains, nevertheless,—namely, that among the stanzas of the tumbling meter appear a few almost like those of the prologue. It happens that there is not merely a shift from one type of stanza to another in plays where there is some evidence of composite origin (as in X, XII, and XVII). But occasionally a form close to that of the prologue stanza appears as part of the tumbling lines. We must note, however, that the form is not strictly that of the prologue. It is composed of one or two quatrains or of a double quatrain (*ababbcbc*) together with the bob wheel.¹⁵ It does appear, except for the tumbling measure within the line, in play III, which otherwise furnishes no reason for not being associated with the prologue. Our difficulty becomes all the greater if we take into account how vague the distinction is between some of the verse characterized as tumbling and the ordinary long four-stress lines, or at least how great the variety of measure is within a single

gests that the former may be scribal). On the other hand, in play XIII (p. 129) an English stage direction appears among the double quatrains which show an inconsistency with the tumbling meter.

¹⁴On the influence of Bonaventura's *Meditationes*, see Block, *MLR*, x, p. 51; also note the use of the *Northern Passion* pointed out by Miss Foster, *The Northern Passion*, London, 1914, p. 100. Miss Foster's "revisers" B and C correspond to the author or school accountable for the tumbling group here. Of her exceptions, which as she thinks are not found in the work of reviser B, none are found in the prologue stanza, and only one (p. 265) is found in the ballad stanza.

¹⁵See pp. 70 ff. (the speech of Contemplacio); pp. 78, 146-7, 291, 306, 309. Miss Swenson fails to observe this fact. In plays XXXIX and XL we have the prologue stanza with scheme *ababbcbc*. For this form see Swenson, p. 61.

stanza or neighboring stanzas. So far I have used Miss Swenson's analysis (together with Miss Block's study) and have reached conclusions which, one may note by a consideration of her paper, are in remarkable agreement with those of Miss Swenson, although they are both more definite and a little less cautious than hers. It is now necessary to test her methods more in detail.

We may observe at once that there is a great difference in the metrical form of what may be safely classified as the tumbling measure itself. There are lines with alliteration and others entirely lacking it.¹⁶ There are many stanzas lacking regular alliteration and others without any alliteration at all.¹⁷ Lines are occasionally introduced which show simple iambs:

Now of God and man blyssyd be 3e alle,
 Homward azen now returne 3e,
 And in this temple abyde we xalle,
 To servyn God in Trinyté.¹⁸

The distinction here from the ordinary four-stress lines is shadowy. Compare, for instance, the following, which have been classified by Miss Swenson as not showing the tumbling measure:

To gete oure levyng withowtyn dwere,
 I have sore laboryd ffor the and me.
 Husbond, ryght gracyously now come be 3e,
 It solacyth me sore sothly to se 3ow in syth.¹⁹

Again, compare the following lines, of which the first four are taken from among lines classified by Miss Swenson as

¹⁶ Cf. p. 70: "This matere here mad is of the modyr of mercy," followed by "How be Joachym and Anne was here concepcion."

¹⁷ P. 71, for example.

¹⁸ P. 74. Miss Swenson, p. 26, says that this play "is written entirely in the tumbling measure."

¹⁹ P. 117. Cf. Swenson, p. 30.

tumbling, the second from stanzas not so classified, and the third from the prologue:

The weys of our lord cast 3ow to aray,
And therin to walk loke 3e be applyande;
And make his pathys as ryth as 3e may,
Kepyng ryth forth, and be not declinande.²⁰

Goo hom, lytyl babe, and sytt on thi moderes lappe,
And put a mokador afrom thi brest;
And pray thi modyr to fede the with the pappe,
Of the for to lerne we desyre not to lest.²¹

In the xxx. pagent thei bete out Crystes blood,
And nayle hym al nakyd upon a rode tre,
Betwen ij. thevys, i-wys they were to wood,
They hyng Cryst Jhesu, gret shame it is to se.²²

One more example will suffice. The first of the following selections presumably shows the tumbling meter, the second simple four-stress:

The pepyl so fast to hym doth falle,
Be prevy menys, as we aspye;
3yf he procede, son sen 3e xalle,
That oure lawys he wyl dystrye.²³

God, that alle thynges dede make of nowth,
And puttyst eche creature to his fenaunce,
Save thyn handwerke that thou hast wrought,
As thou art lord of hiz substauns! ²⁴

The fact is not that the tumbling measure shows such great variety, but that the plays in which the tumbling measure appears show the variety; or, in other words, that the author of any of the plays turned, perhaps unconsciously, from one kind of meter to another according to

²⁰ P. 243. Miss Swenson, p. 54.

²¹ P. 190. Miss Swenson, p. 38. This play shows variety but should be classed with the tumbling group.

²² P. 14.

²³ P. 249.

²⁴ P. 223.

his needs. The longer lines may add dignity as in the speeches of Contemplacio, or pomposity as in the speeches of Herod and Satan. The writer has a range from lines of twelve or more syllables to others of eight; it is we who attempt to classify them. And while Miss Swenson's analysis is generally accurate and exceedingly valuable, it is important to recognize the variety of measure within one stanza, or several, or within the course of a play, of which she has failed to observe the significance. In the light of this, it becomes legitimate to associate whole plays of the four-stress double quatrains with those which show the tumbling lines, and the tumbling measure itself loses its value somewhat as a test of style.

With which group, then, if with either, are the quatrains and double quatrains (*ababbcbc*) of the simple four-stress verse to be associated? The fact that the writer of the tumbling lines could apparently revert at will to the simpler measure²⁵ would seem to show that the quatrains may all belong to him or to writers of his school. A glance at Miss Swenson's table will suffice to reveal that the simpler verse is most often found in plays with the tumbling measure. Manuscript evidence distinguishes the simple double quatrain from the prologue stanza in play X (pp. 93-5).²⁶ In the *Crucifixion* Simon's bearing of the cross and also the Veronica episode are not foretold in the prologue, but they appear in simple quatrains in the plays. On the other hand, play XV, which, except for the cherry-tree episode, is classed with the prologue (or the "older") group by both Miss Swenson and Miss Block, is written in single and double quatrains. The argument for this

²⁵ Notice, for instance, the gradual transition from one variety to another in play XXXVIII, p. 373; also p. 129 (the speech of Contemplacio).

²⁶ See Swenson, p. 29; Block, p. 51.

classification is, however, not entirely persuasive: the lack of the *Contemplacio* prologue and the presence of Latin stage-directions are not insuperable difficulties, since the play is obviously remade. Again, a double quatrain appears with prologue stanzas in an interpolated leaf in play XXVI,²⁷ But here we may note the elaborate English stage-directions, and the initial quatrain identical with the lines on p. 256. Yet there is almost proof positive that the simple quatrains do not all belong to the tumbling lines: on pp. 128-9 there is an inconsistency between the matter of the tumbling lines and that in the simple quatrains;²⁸ and we may remember too the quatrains in the prologue (p. 7). The question is involved, therefore, but one theory that will meet many difficulties is that the simple quatrains belong in part to the group of the tumbling lines and in part to the work of the compiler.²⁹

All our conclusions must be exceedingly tentative, since we have seen that the manuscript, meter, and subject-matter do not mutually support one another in the evidence. It seems probable that the prologue stanzas belong to one group, the tumbling lines to another. In both cases it seems apparent that the plays concerned were acted before the attempt was made to join them in the present

²⁷ Pp. 252-3. Swenson, p. 53; Block, p. 53.

²⁸ This has been referred to above. See Swenson, p. 31. Mary plans to stay three months with Elizabeth, but departs almost immediately. Later, a speech of *Contemplacio* ignores the departure.

²⁹ This theory is harmonious with that of Miss Foster cited above, note 14; see Foster, *Northern Passion*, pp. 98 ff. She, however, gives the tumbling lines to reviser C. It is a question which seems the more reasonable explanation of the error on pp. 128-9: the theory that the compiler made up original lines in part inconsistent with the setting, or that he copied such lines from an older play and let the mistake stand. I am quite willing to believe that the group with the tumbling lines as I have classified it contains sub-groups.

cycle. The ballad meter seems to go with the prologue stanzas, while the simple four-stress quatrains, single and double, come in part from the plays with the tumbling lines and in part from the hand of the chief compiler. Although we cannot go further than this and try to discover how many authors took part in the composition of each group or to trace successive stages in the development of each group, from what evidence we have these classifications seem to stand out as fairly dependable, and all that we need to give them security is external evidence: groups of plays, on the one hand, with the prologue stanza; and on the other, groups with the tumbling lines.

It so happens that these are to be found. It is interesting to observe that the ballad meter and the modified prologue stanza (*ababbcbc* with the bob wheel; *ababbcbccdefffe* — cf. *LC*, play III, p. 35; and other forms) are both used in the *Abraham and Isaac* of the Dublin Manuscript. It has Latin stage-directions. Brotanek long ago showed the futility of relating this play to a Dublin cycle, and pointed out certain affinities with the *Ludus Coventriae* and its N—town.³⁰ His argument, which takes due account of dialect, Waterhouse has found “for the most part convincing.”³¹ And it seems quite possible that this play once belonged in place of V in the present cycle,³² since play V is in the form of the simple four-stress double quatrain and it follows

³⁰ *Anglia*, xxi, pp. 21 ff.

³¹ *EETSES*, civ, pp. xlv. Note the rhyme i, y = e, ll. 329-333. Cf. *LC*, p. 38, unkende, frende. There are many other examples.

³² In one minor respect, which Miss Swenson has failed to note, play V differs from the description of it in the prologue. The prologue says that the angel “bad Abraham a shep to kyl.” In play V Abraham makes the suggestion himself, but in the Dublin play the angel says “Turn þe & take þat wedyr there,” l. 269, p. 33.

directly in the manuscript (without any break)³³ on the Noah and Lameth, and Noah and the wives, scenes which have been related to the group with tumbling lines.

As an evidence, also, of the existence of a group marked by the prologue meter, we may consider the morality play—the *Castle of Perseverance*. Here again we have the prologue meter, of which the principal variations are: (1) a stanza composed of part of the prologue stanza; (2) the ballad stanza with lines of two stresses.³⁴ And we have the two Vexillatores (whose speeches are in long lines like those in the beginning of the *Dublin Abraham*),³⁵ a constant use of Latin stage directions, and the blank left for the name of the town. With the other group, however, must be associated the presence of Detracciō (Bakbytere) and the four daughters of God,³⁶ but we must note that

³³Swenson, p. 8. Manuscript evidence as to the sequence of the plays is not, however, very important, since in that respect its method seems haphazard. Note, for instance, the page and a half blank between plays XXI and XXII, both of which are in prologue meter and which were apparently acted together (Swenson, p. 39).

³⁴Ballad stanzas of this type are found in the *LC Resurrection*, p. 342.

³⁵Compare also, however, some of the lines in the *LC* prologue; "The soule goth than to the grave, and be ryth gret vertu" (p. 15).

³⁶Miss Traver finds evidence for a common source but not interrelation: "With the exception of the controversy before God's throne, the *Castell* never runs parallel with the *Salutation*, though both the *Castell* and the *Salutation* present other parallels with the *Charter*," Bryn Mawr College Monographs, *The Four Daughters of God*, Bryn Mawr, 1907, p. 139. Gayley finds the use of the allegory in the *LC* merely a sign "of the literary times," not a "new dramatic invention nor of uncommon historical significance," *Plays of Our Forefathers*, N. Y., 1908, p. 206. The similarity of the *Castell* to the *LC* has been noticed by Chambers, *Med. Stage*, I, p. 155; Dodds, *MLR*, ix, p. 89; and others. We may note in the *Castell* the praise of Mary, ll. 1632, 1710; the list of alliterative names (compare the list in the work of the first scribe in the *Croxton Sacrement*, ll. 15 ff.; and in the ballad stanzas in *LC*, play XIV, pp. 131 ff.); and the early

there seems to be no relation between the corresponding speeches allotted to these characters in the plays concerned.

On the other hand, the identity of a group of plays using the tumbling meter and the quatrains is marked by the appearance of these forms in the *Digby Massacre* ("The Killing of the Children"). Here the tumbling meter, occasionally alliterative, is used in the double quatrain *ababbcbc* (especially in the *Poeta* and *Herod* speeches), a form which is not found elsewhere in the cycles beside the *Ludus Coventriae*. While the prologue meter is common enough in the early drama to make us cautious about depending on it as a sole test for relationship, the combination of the tumbling meter and the double

date (see *EETSSES*, xci, p. xxiv.). The dialect Dr. Furnivall assigned to Norfolk. It shows the *i, y = e* rhyme (see ll. 15-17-19-21); but the signs of Norfolk he gives as follows: absence of guttural *gh* (also found in *Mankind* and *Wisdom: Mankind*, ll. 445-6; *Wisdom*, ll. 728 ff., although he has failed to make a note of it); use of *w* for *v*; *sch* in *schul* and *schal*, etc., instead of *x*. These last two characteristics depend much on the scribe, and may so easily have been lost in copying that they are scarcely safe tests for distinguishing *Mankind* and *Wisdom*. The loss of guttural *gh*, as Dr. Furnivall observes (p. xlii), occurred in many other midland and southern counties "early in the fifteenth century." It is found in many places in the *LC* (e.g. "byte," "plyte," "bryth," p. 25). And although the *LC* has *x* for *sch* regularly, the *sch* may have stood formerly in the prologue group before it was used and in part copied by the present scribe. The Dublin *Abraham* does not show a loss of *gh*, but on that score the brevity of the play makes its evidence of little weight. The appearance of the substantive plural in *-us* may be more important (see *EETSSES*, civ, p. xlvii) for west midland influence; but in both plurals the stress falls on the preceding syllables, and the same phenomenon occurs in the *Castell* ("gamys" rhymed with "laudamus," ll. 3646-50) and *Mankind* ("pecuniatus," "patus," "gatus," rhymed, ll. 464-5-6). Cf. *LC*, p. 130. The Dublin play, on the other hand, preserves the *sh* in *shal* and *shuld*.

quatrain is exceedingly rare and with other evidence it affords a powerful argument. What metrical irregularity we have in the Digby play is most closely akin to that in the tumbling lines of the *Ludus Coventriae*.³⁷ The speech, according to Schmidt,³⁸ shows midland characteristics. And the matter fits the sections of tumbling lines in the cycle admirably. The "poeta" corresponding to "Contemplacio," the matter of last year's performance and of this year's is set forth as in the cycle. Also as in the cycle, and not as in the Towneley plays, the York, and the True Coventry plays, in fact anywhere else in English, the *Purification* was originally to be followed by the *Massacre*.³⁹ In the *Ludus Coventriae*, on the other hand,

"I omit, of course, the Watkyn scene (leaf 147, back). Schmidt, *Die Digby-Spiele*, Berlin, 1884, p. 20, finds parallels to the *LC*. There are schemes, however, which he thinks peculiar to the Digby play: *abba* (ll. 345-9, cf. Croxton, *Sacrement*, ll. 198, 247, 292); and the couplet (549-50) at closing scenes. Couplets are found in the *LC*, and even *abba* with the preceding quatrains forms what I have called a modified prologue-stanza (see note 15 above). Schmidt, p. 19, has difficulty in scanning the verse, for he considers much of it heroic and yet is bothered by exceptions where only four or three stresses occur. The "tumbling" lines in *LC* would present similar difficulties: cf. p. 191, "How it was wrought, and how long it xal endure" (five stresses?) On the other hand, cf. the Digby play: p. 2, l. 43, "Of ij yeeres age & within, sparyng neither bonde nor ffree"; or p. 23, l. 562, "The disputacion of the doctours to shew in your presens." With these two lines, compare again the line from *LC* (p. 161): "I am the comelyeste kynge clad in gleteringe golde." The Digby play has also the simple four stress: p. 21, l. 520, "In this tempill with hert and mende." For three stresses cf. these lines in the *LC*, p. 147: "A! swete wyff, what xal we do? Wher xal we logge this nyght?"

³⁸ Pp. 18-9. He notes the i, y = e rhyme, and the loss of guttural *gh*.

³⁹ In the York the *Purif.* is followed by the *Flight*. See L. T. Smith, *York Plays*, p. 433, n. 1. Cf. *The Massacre*, ll. 30 ff.:

And to shew you of our ladies purificacion
that she made in the temple as the vsage was than.

while the *Purification* does not show the prologue stanza, it does show a stanza which is almost unique in the cycle,⁴⁰ the play seems to be a later addition, and the *Slaughter of the Innocents* is in the prologue stanza. If, therefore, we insert the Digby play at this point in place of these two, it fits perfectly. The matter which it promises next year, "the disputacion of the doctours," follows in the same meter in the next play; the play which precedes (XVII) has been tampered with, but preserves also some of the same meter.⁴¹ Furthermore, like the devotion of the *LC* to Mary, the Digby play is held in honour of the feast of St. Anna⁴² and the dedicatory lines celebrate Mary.

The Digby Manuscript has some association with Bury St. Edmunds.⁴³ Curiously enough so have the Croxton

And after that shall herowd haue tydynges
how the three kynges be goon hoom another way, etc.

⁴⁰ A few stanzas of the same type appear in play XII, a composite. See Swenson, p. 34.

⁴¹ For the play which follows, see Swenson, pp. 38 and 65, who classifies it as lacking in the tumbling measure. As I have said, this measure is a matter of dispute: cf., p. 190, "Goo hom, lytyl babe, and sytt on thi moderes lappe," and the Digby play (*EETSES*, LXX), p. 3, "Aboue all kynges vnder the Clowdys Cristall." For the same meter in the *LC* play which precedes, see p. 161.

⁴² See II. 1 ff. It may be that this part of the *LC* hails originally from Lincoln. Cf. Craig, [*Minnesota*] *Studies*, No. 1, pp. 75 f. The prophet play (VII), on which his evidence is in part based, seems to be of the tumbling group or rather, as it is better to call it here, the group of plays with double quatrains (here simple four stress). The prologue group would hardly do for St. Anne's day, since it is prepared for "Sunday next." Craig's attempt to find proof that the cycle as a whole belongs to Lincoln on the ground that Lincoln plays "seem to have been processional, and yet to have been acted, at least in part, upon a fixed stage" neglects the fact that the cycle is not a finished composition, that the fixed stations may belong to one group and the movable pageants to another.

⁴³ See "Myles Blomefylde," Schmidt, p. 6.

Sacrement and the Macro *Mankind*,⁴⁴ which also show a use of the double quatrains and a variation between the simple four-stress and the tumbling lines. But the Croxton *Sacrement*, like the *Abraham*, appears in a Dublin Manuscript,⁴⁵ and has speeches by Vexillatores and sections in the ballad meter. Yet there is some evidence, not before noted apparently, that these characteristics, which would ally the play to the prologue group, are additions. According to Waterhouse,⁴⁶ the "banns" and ll. 1-246, 405-566, are written by one hand different from that of the rest of the play. These sections include all of the ballad lines. And it seems to have escaped critics that ll. 37-52 of the banns are almost identical with ll. 852-67 (p. 85), suggesting perhaps that there has been a revision for the sake of creating a prologue. And we may observe that otherwise the lines show great similarity to those of the tumbling group: the *ababbcbccded* scheme appears,⁴⁷ and the alternation of quatrains and double quatrains.⁴⁸ Its dialect is midland, and the stage directions are English.

⁴⁴See allusions to Tolkote and Babwelle Mylle near Bury. Cf. Waterhouse, *EETSES*, civ, p. lxiv. Macro was son of a resident of Bury; see *EETSES*, xci, pp. ix and xxx, and p. 11, l. 267, (the "comyn tapster of Bury"). For the dialect of the *Sacrement* see the i, y = e rhyme, ll. 640-2. There is no evidence for the loss of guttural *gh*, but the confusion of u, w, and v, occurs (see p. lvi). In the case of *Mankind*, see the rhyme ll. 270-2, and the loss of *gh* (note 36 above). *Wisdom*, which has no reference to Bury, may be also included, however, as offering the same problems as *Mankind*. The resemblance of the stage directions to those in *LC* is noted by the editor, *EETSES*, xci, p. xx.

⁴⁵Waterhouse, p. lv.

⁴⁶*Ibid.*, p. lv.

⁴⁷P. 58, ll. 37-48; cf. *LC*, pp. 256, 261.

⁴⁸P. 66; cf. *LC*, p. 217 and elsewhere. It has part of a prologue stanza, p. 66; cf. *LC*, p. 309. It has other irregularities: *abbb*a (see note 37 above); and *ababb*. Cf. *ababbaba* as on p. 81, ll. 746-53, with Digby and with *LC* (e.g. p. 305). See Schmidt, pp. 20-21.

Mankind is also midland, has elaborate English stage-directions, and perplexingly combines the double quatrain and the ballad stanza.⁴⁹ Perhaps, therefore, it is wrong to associate the ballad stanza only with the prologue group. But Pollard's opinion that the play is late⁵⁰ may suggest that this too has been reworked⁵¹ like the Croxton play, or that they both belong to a period in which the writers reverted to whatever stanza pleased them. They are a warning, however, which may be paralleled elsewhere, against a too rigid adherence to our scheme.

It must be confessed, therefore, that without doubt the problem of the development of the *Ludus Coventriae* is either much simpler than we have supposed (but the evidence from the manuscript and prologue militate against this), or it is so much more complex that we shall hardly arrive at the true analysis in all its details. But we can

⁴⁹ Most of the ballad stanzas are given to the Vices. It is interesting to note that the Tutivillus lines of the Towneley *Juditium* are in the same measure.

⁵⁰ *EETSSES*, xci, pp. xi, xix.

⁵¹ Evidences of reworking appear most plainly in the Digby play in the stanzas of rhyme-royal on leaf 147. A further connection with Bury St. Edmunds is found in the fact that Lydgate, whose interest in the drama expressed itself in pageantry and mumming, wrote frequently in rhyme-royal and in the double quatrain. His known verse shows such regularity that Dr. MacCracken has denied to him certain dramatic pieces in the double quatrain with which we are here familiar: e.g., the pageant for the return of Henry V from Agincourt, see Withington, *English Pageantry*, Cambridge, 1918, I, pp. 132 ff., and *ASNS*, cxxvi, p. 100, n. 1; and the entry of Queen Margaret in 1445, Withington, I, 148, and *Mod. Philol.*, XIII, p. 55. Hemingway (*Nativity Plays*, p. xxxvii) long ago suggested Lydgate as the author of the *LC*; and although it is unnecessary to ascribe the plays to him personally, the tumbling group may indeed show the work of the school which he once led. And it would be convenient to account for the "theological amplifications," so often noticed (cf. Foster, *Northern Passion*, p. 98), by the influence of Bury.

make progress in the right direction and indicate generally some of the steps in the formation of the cycle. There are complications within the groups that we have marked off: metrically the Dublin *Abraham* seems closer to the *Assumption* (in so far as the form of its prologue stanza is concerned) than to the prologue, and a difference in quality may easily be detected in subject-matter as well as in verse in the plays of each group. But if I have succeeded in making my point clear, the evidence, which is drawn perhaps most vividly from the Digby *Massacre*, shows that in forming this cycle two great groups of plays, distinct from each other in meter as well as in method of performance, were utilized by a scribe who worked in several stages and may have used either group for his basis. Several scribes may have participated; we cannot approach the authorship more nearly than this. And the plays may have originated in one locality; or the prologue group may have come from Northampton, Norwich, or Newcastle, and the tumbling group from Bury St. Edmunds or Lincoln. These are lines for future investigation, for which I hope I have furnished some hints. At any rate, the necessity of the closer association of this cycle with the Digby plays, the Macro plays, the Dublin *Abraham*, and the Croxton *Sacrement*, seems clear, and it sheds light on the dramatic activity of the midland district.

HOWARD R. PATCH.

XVI.—MUSIC IN THE PLAYS OF LUDWIG ANZENGRUBER

From time immemorial, it would seem, music and drama have been closely associated, or perhaps it would be more accurate to say that music has ever been the handmaid of drama. The import and significance of the choral odes in the Greek theatre, the charming uses of song in Shakespeare's plays, the development of music as a dramatic medium, culminating in the work of Richard Wagner—these phenomena are familiar to all. Yet it may fairly be said that not all the possibilities of the union of music and drama have yet been realized. In musical comedy the dramatic element is negligible; in opera the music is our chief interest. It has remained for a little-known Austrian dramatist to point the way to a new type of play, in which music shall be subordinated, yet indispensable, taking its definite share in the action without usurping the whole stage.

The name of Anzengruber is hardly one to conjure with outside of German-speaking countries, although his talent is deserving of wider repute. Born in Vienna in 1839, and dying there just fifty years later, Anzengruber shares both the advantages and the disadvantages that are the portion of a largely provincial literature: excluded from the sweep of the broader currents of intellectual development, he also avoided the danger of being swept off his feet and carried into some obscure channel, only to remain stranded as the high waters of enthusiasm receded. So, while his art will probably never achieve any wide acclaim, it offers rare because unalloyed enjoyment to those who are sensitive to its appeal; and that its quality has seemed

to discriminating judges worthy of distinction is evidenced by the fact that Anzengruber shared in the award of three of the most coveted prizes for high achievement in German literature: the Schiller prize, the Grillparzer prize, and the J. P. Müller prize.

Anzengruber's dramatic art has its roots altogether in the soil of Vienna, and it was in the so-called "Wiener Volksstück" that he found the type of play peculiarly suited to his genius. From these plays he derives such features as rapid and frequent changes of scene, occasional looseness of dramatic structure, and his fondness for strong and sometimes even violent effects. From the same source he also took over the music that had consistently characterized all typical Viennese plays of the lower order. To the average Viennese, a play without music was stupid: he demanded the interlarding of pretty songs, to lighten the action, to spice the humorous conflicts, or to heighten the sensuous appeal. Anzengruber could not have hoped for success, had he attempted to run counter to the universal demand; but like the true artist everywhere, he took the tool that was thrust into his hand and with it fashioned forms and secured effects that represent a new departure in the dramaturgy of his time, and make him in some respects a unique figure among playwrights everywhere.

It should be remarked at the outset that song has always played a very important part in Austrian life, and that the Austrian bursts into song as spontaneously as a child and on occasions when we silent and reserved Americans should not think of doing so. This lightens but does not fundamentally change Anzengruber's problem, which is to introduce as much singing as possible without letting it seem to be arbitrary and unmotivated. It is astonishing to see how often he succeeds in so interweaving the song with the

surrounding text that it cannot be omitted without injury to the action.

One favorite device is that of the song monolog, which may serve to establish a mood, such as love, hate, despondency, or the like. Or the monolog may contribute to the exposition. Thus in the *Cross-Makers* the following stanza is a narrative that bears directly on the ensuing scene. Josepha tells how she has gone to confession, her soul black with sin, and concludes:

Slow I went as a raven
To the church there above,
But I come down a-flying
As a fair, snow-white dove.

On which Jack the Stonebreaker comments drily: "Now the snow-white dove is going to whet its beak." This prophecy is correct, and the result is the exclusion of her husband from bed and board until he be ready to submit to her demands. Deeply in love with her, and almost prepared to yield anyway, he hears her at her chamber window singing a melting serenade to the stars, ending:

Fair night, you make my blood
Flow fast and free:
'Twould do my sweetheart good,
Being here with me.

Quite overcome, he capitulates unconditionally, thus precipitating the situation that leads to the dénouement.

Again, the song may be a direct means of characterization, as when a simpleton enters singing a brief air to the expressive words, "Tralala, tralala." Similarly, the stanzas which Jack the Stonebreaker sings at the tavern, and which he proudly claims as his own composition, present in brief his philosophy of life, ending:

So because I've given over
Being trouble and question-maker,

That's why I'm so old and jolly
 As a stone-breaker, as a stone-breaker,
 As a stone-breaker, hooray!

A thoroughly realistic use of song, which reflects a common experience of Austrian life, is in the singing procession, which Anzengruber uses repeatedly, and with which he achieves in one instance a masterpiece of humorous originality. It is in the *Pastor of Kirchfeld*, the scene of which is laid at the time of the struggle for supremacy in Austria between church and state. Streams of pious Catholics are every day marching to the holy shrines to pray that the church may prevail. Such a group of singing pilgrims, advancing from one side, collides squarely with a bridal party coming from the other and headed for the county court-house, where the ceremony is to be performed; for the bridegroom is a Catholic, the bride a Lutheran. The strife between the solemn chorale of the pilgrims and the jigging bridal songs of the wedding procession is a wonderfully apt symbol of the spiritual conflict between the pious petitioners and the godless exemplars of "mixed marriage."

Not less credible and natural are the various tavern scenes, in which song plays a considerable part. Compare the well-known scene in *She Stoops to Conquer*. So at the beginning of the *Cross-Makers* one of the lads sings:

Holiness, holiness,
 'Tis my desire:
 Each day up I'm climbing
 To Heaven or higher.
 But little I care
 If to Heaven I don't win:
 At my sweetheart's own window
 I always fall in.

When it subsequently transpires that the singer has made a vain attempt to get into a certain window, one of the

others turns to him and quotes: "Holiness, holiness. Say, I'm sorry for ye: you'll be neither holy nor happy. What's the use of tumbling into your sweetheart's window if she tumbles ye out again?" Of this device of referring back to a previous song or melody I shall speak again: it is one of Anzengruber's original touches.

Anzengruber is well aware of the emotional potency of music, and makes effective use of it on occasion, for example in the following scene from the *Perjurer*. Vroni's brother Jakob, an outcast and a jailbird, has come home to his old grandmother to die. Turning to his sister, he points to the zither and asks for a certain song, which she sings under protest:

This is my last desire,
Grant me my prayer:
Lord, I am going home,
Let me die there.

Forest green, mountains blue,
Dark lake below:
Fain would I see you all
Before I go.

Fain in my father's house
I'd sink to rest,
Laying my dying head
On mother's breast.

Here the old grandmother enters, and Jakob turns to her with a cry. She goes to him, and he lays his head on her breast, taking up the song,

Laying my dying head
On mother's breast.

My eyes her loving hand
Will close, I know;
Farewell, my native land,
To rest I go.
Farewell, my native land. . . .

Jakob dies.

Later in the same play, music is again used to heighten the emotional effect. Ferner's perjury has robbed Vroni of her just inheritance, but heretofore the only possible witness against him has been his only son Franz, who has been sent away from home. Now Jakob unexpectedly and unwittingly brings in an old letter, the evidence of Ferner's guilt. The latter, at first crushed by the intelligence, is then brought to the verge of madness, and goes to extort the letter from Vroni. She defeats his purpose by asserting that she has already given the letter to Franz, whereupon the crazed man sets out in pursuit of his son. They meet in the unfrequented valley of a mountain torrent, just as a train of smugglers is crossing a bridge in the background. It is a night of storm and tempest, with rolling thunder and flashes of lightning, the uncanniness of which is intensified by the playing of a soft, weird march that accompanies the progress of the mysterious smugglers across the bridge. As the first band of them disappears, the march stops, but soft music persists throughout the conversation between Ferner and Franz, which terminates when the former, in a sudden transport of rage, raises his rifle and shoots at Franz, who tumbles off the bridge without a sound. Furious strains then come from the orchestra as Ferner staggers down stage, followed by a soft tremolo passage as he falls on his knees before a crucifix to pray: "O thou my Saviour, did this have to be too?—He wouldn't have it otherwise; from his childhood on, death was fairly destined to him by my hand.—Now he lies far below—the letter will be washed away—the evidence will never come to light. That is providential, that must be providential. I knew thou wouldst not desert me in my hour of need." The following stage direction reads: "A short theme, like a gloomy prayer, in

which mingles the march of the smugglers, a second band of whom appear on the bridge."

Here there is clearly a conscious attempt to make the music accompany, accentuate, and even interpret the action, an essentially operatic procedure. Operatic is further the use he makes of the smugglers' march as a symbol and a reminder, a *leitmotiv*, as it were. This seems to me one of Anzengruber's most original contributions to dramatic technique, and he employs it rather frequently and very interestingly.

In its simplest form, the device consists solely in the repetition of a song or melody, with a resultant heightening of the original effect. More commonly, however, a specific dramatic purpose is to be served. Thus in the *Cross-Makers*, when the Stonebreaker has openly defied the all-powerful Grossbauer and has come off with flying colors, the lads gather in a group around him, and march off singing the refrain of his song:

As a stone-breaker, as a stone-breaker,
As a stone-breaker, hooray!

What more effective way for them to indicate their thorough sympathy, or to give him their full support?

Dramatically more significant is a double reminiscence of this type in the *Worm of Conscience*. A wealthy farmer named Grillhofer has had a light stroke; his impecunious brother-in-law Dusterer tries to persuade him that this is a direct punishment from God for an unrepented sin of his youth, and that he ought to do penance by giving his goods to the poor—for example Dusterer! One of his principal schemes for keeping Grillhofer in a renunciatory mood is the following remarkable penitential song:

O free us from life's pain and sin,
Oh Lord, be gracious to us,
And into Heaven let us in,
For that no harm can do us.

Into this atmosphere of pious gloom enters the sunny girl Liese Horlacher, for whom song is nearly as natural as breathing, and who gives expression, among others, to the following sentiment:

O green world so fair,
You're the loveliest place
When the zithers are twanging
And my girl's in my embrace.

She has hardly finished when the voices of Grillhofer and Dusterer are heard behind the scenes singing their melancholy strain.

Now it appears that the girl whom Grillhofer has seduced, and whom Dusterer has often depicted as roasting in hellfire, is still alive, and Grillhofer goes to see her. He finds her anything but a penitent Magdalen: she is the mother of twelve, and a shrill-voiced, hard-faced termagant, who threatens to set the dogs on him if he does not leave her in peace. Grillhofer learns, however, that there was a child, of which the mother can give him no word. Dusterer encourages him to fear the worst for this motherless waif, which cannot but have grown up in sin and shame. As Grillhofer yields to such gloomy fears, the orchestra softly takes up the air of the penitential song from the first act. But now it is revealed that the motherless waif is none other than Liese. As Grillhofer puts his arms around her, a zither outside in the hands of her lover plays a brief prelude, announcing the melody of her song. Liese sings a line or two, then the full orchestra takes up the accompaniment, and Grillhofer himself sings the closing quatrain:

O green world so fair,
You're the loveliest place
When the zithers are twanging
And my girl's in my embrace.

So far we have found song used as a simple connective, without influence on the action. But there are some cases in which the reminiscence actually plays a part in the dramatic development. So in the Christmas play *Home at Last*. Doctor Hammer has gone about making his fortune, forsaking his old mother, who lives with her other son Thomas in the suburbs; but business has gone badly, bankruptcy stares him in the face, and in despair he goes out into the chill of Christmas eve, prepared to end an insupportable existence. Thomas gets word of it, however, and urges him to return to their mother. Hammer's pride rebels at the humiliation, but suddenly through the quiet air comes the faint sound of an organ, with a choir singing:

Hail, hail to thee, O Mary,
Thou star of Heaven on high.

The familiar hymn of their childhood days brings a throng of memories flooding in on his spirit, and the day is won for Thomas, who leads his brother home.

A similar effect is attained in the *Spirit of Old Vienna*. Kernhofer has been called to account for his excessive generosity, and responds that he cannot help it, the impulse is too strong for him. As he says:

When I've been carried out
Yonder to Simmering,
Quiet and still,
Quiet and still—
And every gadabout
Says, 'Twas a good old scout,'
Quiet and still,
Quiet and still,
I shall have had my will—
When I've been carried out
Quiet and still.

Subsequently word is brought to him that a man whom he has repeatedly befriended has again abused his gene-

rosity; in vexation he swears that he will never help him again. Just then the orchestra plays the melody of the song just quoted, whereupon he says, "His wife with her five children—how can they help it? I'll come right away!" I know of no other dramatist who employs music, as in the above instance, not simply as an embellishment, but as a strictly integral part of the dramatic structure.

Interesting and striking as are the uses which Anzengruber makes of song in his plays, they are not more original and powerful than his employment of instrumental music in a few of his earlier dramas. For one thing, he distinctly calls for program music in several of his stage directions. It will be recalled how Vroni, in the *Perjurer*, gets rid of Ferner by telling him that Franz has the letter. Now Franz has actually been to warn her before Ferner came, and she has let him go out into the storm with some misgivings, for she is now in love with him. This anxiety increases when she sees Ferner rush off in pursuit of his son. Furthermore, she knows that the smugglers are expected very shortly. The stage directions at her next appearance contain the following: "As the curtain rises, soft slumber-music, with which the smugglers' march mingles, until it drowns out the other and stops abruptly when Vroni rises from her bed." "Vroni, fully dressed, lies half across the bed; her movements become more restless, as the music increases in vivacity—she rises, the music ceases." Here Anzengruber's intention is perfectly evident: the music gives us the content of Vroni's unquiet dreams, with the noise of the smugglers growing constantly more disturbing, until it finally awakens her. At the same time, the now familiar march of the smugglers at once recalls to the listener the scene in the mountain glen with the shooting of Franz,

and suggests the possibility that the smugglers are bringing his body with them—which is the fact.

Not less interesting is the introductory stage direction to the *Cross-Makers*: "The overture ends by having fugues of a quasi-religious character little by little completely drowned out by the melody of a country jig." That is, the composer of the incidental music was to summarize the action of the play in the overture: the play involves a conflict between religious solemnity and rustic levity; the conflict will be of a humorous nature, and levity will triumph.

During the course of the same play, a great row takes place at the inn, after the manner of such rows in European country taverns, the object of which in this case is to see who is strong enough to propel the entire assembled company, willing or not, singly or in groups, out through the door into the street. Just as the preliminaries to this joyous scene are completed, the pompous, pot-bellied Grossbauer enters and tries to put a stop to it. Some one inadvertently hits him in the stomach, whereupon "a humorous passage for the bassoon depicts a vain struggle for breath." But the lust of battle is on them, one of the participants knocks down the lamp with his cane, making the stage pitch dark; the noise of scuffling is heard, and the curtain falls to "grotesquely comic battle-music."

In this use of music we have not merely the narrative element, but something beyond that: the music takes the place of the action, so that we can in imagination witness the fight we cannot see. It is this employment of "representative music," if I may so call it, that gives Anzengruber his strongest claim to distinction in this field. With the exception of the instance just quoted, all the occurrences of this device are in one play, the *Pastor of Kirchfeld*, but they are so numerous and so well planned that

the clear, artistic purpose they reveal seems to me incapable.

A brief summary of the action will be necessary to an understanding of the situations involved. The pastor is a young, enthusiastic, high-minded priest named Hell, who serves the Lord will all his might; but he has encountered the wrath of the church militant, because, so far from encouraging his flock to oppose the new laws that have abolished the secular power of the Roman church, he has—as a patriot—thrown all his powerful influence in the opposite direction. The resulting conflict is exemplified in a quarrel with Count Finsterberg, who comes to the mountains to hunt and to show the pastor the error of his ways. Finding him recalcitrant, Finsterberg threatens him with severe penalties. Hunters' calls behind the scenes announce the character of Finsterberg's ostensible errand.

Hereafter a secondary plot is developed. Hell has taken a young girl named Anna into his home as servant. A warm attachment springs up between them, culminating in a scene in which Hell gives Anna his mother's gold cross, and begs her to stay with him always, taking the place of the sister of whom death has robbed him. The scene is witnessed by Sepp, a peasant with a twisted soul, who uses it to discredit Hell with his parishioners. To save him, Anna accepts the marriage proposal of an honest youth who has long loved her, and to whom she is not indifferent; and she begs Hell to perform the wedding ceremony. Almost beside himself with anguish, Hell wrestles with his soul on the morning of the wedding-day. In the midst of his torment, the distant sound of the wedding-march is heard, coming nearer and nearer: we can fairly see the procession before our eyes, yet the soliloquy as such proceeds as before, profoundly affected, yet

not interrupted. The bridal party comes on to the stage, then marches into the church, still singing. As the last couple enters the church portal, the singing stops, but the orchestra immediately takes up the wedding march, which it plays softly until the peal of the organ and the voices of the congregation are heard within the church. Thus by this simple musical device, the bridal couple is *dramatically* present throughout the entire scene, yet actually present for only a slight portion of it.

As Hell re-issues from the church, with Anna lost to him forever, a messenger awaits him with a letter announcing his removal from his pastorate, and commanding him to appear before the Consistory to answer to charges against him. His overtaxed nerves give way at the thought that his renunciation of Anna is now perhaps more than in vain, and he sinks to the ground in utter collapse, with Anna at his feet. Into this tableau of despair come the ringing, joyous trumpet-calls of a hunting party, and a few seconds later Count Finsterberg is on the stage. This inspiration, it seems to me, comes little short of genius: the hunting-call cannot but bring back to eye and ear the opening scenes of the play, and without disturbing the unity of the tableau that occupies the actual stage, the mental vision places Count Finsterberg in triumph above Hell and Anna.

But Finsterberg is not to have the last word. Hell's first despair, deep and black as it is, gives way before the impassioned pleading of Anna, who with an insight and an acumen born of her deep love for him clears his confused brain and heals his aching soul. Fully resolved to face his accusers, he blesses his people for the last time; and as they kneel before him, the sun rises and the faint peal of hunting horns is heard in the far distance. Once again Count Finsterberg flits across our mental horizon,

but this time not in triumph: the darkness of a night that is past is dispelled by the brightness of a new day.

Some years have passed since Messrs. Gilbert and Sullivan so brilliantly demonstrated the happy possibilities of a combination of spoken comedy and musical adornment. But so far no one has attempted to apply similar technique to the more serious drama, partly no doubt in view of the very considerable dramaturgic difficulties involved. The particular interest of Anzengruber's use of music lies in the very fact that we have here for the first time an attempt—and a fairly successful one—to make music fill a distinct rôle in the development of the playwright's dramatic material. This type of play, if Anzengruber's example should be followed, will one day occupy a field all its own: not opera, not wholly spoken drama, not simply spectacle or musical comedy, it will partake in some measure of each of these forms, and promises a distinct enrichment of our theatrical art.

B. Q. MORGAN.

XVII.—WILLIAM GODWIN AND THE STAGE

In the minds of most students of literature, William Godwin's name is associated with the drama, first, through his own two unsuccessful attempts at playmaking, *Antonio* (1800) and *Faulkener* (1807), and, secondly, through Colman's dramatization of *Caleb Williams* under the title *The Iron Chest*, and Wordsworth's *The Borderers*, an exposure of the ethical fallacies of *Political Justice*.¹ In the present paper, I wish to point out some additional and less familiar facts with respect to Godwin's relation to

¹ It is indicative of the bitterness of public feeling against revolutionary thinkers that Godwin, fearing that the failure of *Antonio* would be inevitable, if its authorship were known, undertook to have it passed off as the work of his friend, Mr. Tobin, and arranged with John Kemble that Mr. Tobin should attend the rehearsals so as to produce the impression that he was the author. Kegan Paul, *William Godwin* (2 vols., London, 1876, II, ch. iii). See also the present writer's article, *The Reaction against William Godwin*, *Modern Philology*, vol. XVI, no. 5.

For similar reasons Thomas Holcroft had to resort more than once to a similar device. His comedy, *He's Much to Blame*, was presented to the theatre in the name of a friend. That his play, *The Deserted Daughter*, was not received with hostility Holcroft attributed to the fact that on the occasion of its first performance its author was not known to the public. (*Memoirs*, 3 vols., London, 1816, II, pp. 213, 219).

Lamb's account of the failure of Godwin's *Antonio* is a classic. Anna Seward, the Minerva of Lichfield, had the greatest expectations of the play when she received the volumes with leaves still uncut. "The characteristic strength, the depth of thought, the heart-grappling interest, and the terrible graces of *Caleb Williams* and *St. Leon* will nobly support the tragic muse. Yes; they will revive her laurels, withered, and in the dust, since Jephson forsook her—O, my stars, what short-lived exultation! How are the mighty fallen and the weapons of genius blunted!" (*Letters*, 6 vols., Edinburgh, 1811, vol. v, Letter lix.)

the stage. I take it that the overshadowing interest in Godwin must always remain his influence upon the great young poets of his time; yet it may not be amiss to specify some of his other less important points of contact with the literary life of his age. I shall not be concerned with the anarchic radicalism of *Political Justice*, but with the relationship of some of Godwin's novels to certain isolated dramas in England, France, and America; and as connected with these matters I shall, at the same time, give an account of Godwin's intercourse with the American tragedian, Thomas Cooper. These items should be of value in forming a more complete estimate of the nature and extent of Godwin's influence as a whole.

I

The position of John Daly Burk in the history of early American drama depends upon the fact that his patriotic play, *Bunker Hill, or, The Death of General Warren*, is typical of the dramas that, at this time, gained the stage by their rabid appeal to republican sentiment in general, and anglophobia in particular. *Bunker Hill* dramatizes incidents that in 1797 had not yet become merely pale historic memories, and consequently, in spite of its crudity, its fustian, and its sentimentality, it enjoyed, much to Dunlap's disgust, great popularity.² In another of his plays, *Female Patriotism, or, The Death of Joan d'Arc* (1798), Burk evidently aimed at gaining success by similar means; for he liberally besprinkled his text with such epithets as "British wolves," and made Joan voice repub-

² *History of the American Theatre* (2 vols., London, 1833), I, pp. 312, 371. Dunlap scornfully refers to "all the smoke, noise and nonsense belonging to Mr. John Burk's muse."

lican sentiments strangely out of place in a medieval environment.³

Our special interest is with Burk's play, *Bethlem Gabor, Lord of Transylvania, or The Man Hating Palatine; an historical Drama*, Petersburg, 1807. From the reminiscences of Dr. Thomas Atkinson we learn that when the local amateur dramatic society of Petersburg, Virginia, produced the play, Burk himself played the name-part.⁴ In the professional cast, William Greene was the Gabor, and McKenzie the St. Leon. Greene was the partner of Alexander Placide in the management of the southern company that played principally in Charleston and Richmond; McKenzie of the same company was, according to Dunlap, "an improving second actor in tragedy and comedy."⁵

Bethlem Gabor was far from being an "historical" play. Its source, as I now wish to point out, was an episode in Godwin's *St. Leon* (1799), modified to suit Burk's taste and embellished by a suggestion from Charles Brockden Brown's *Wieland*⁶ (1798). Gabor, blasted in soul by the supposed slaughter of his wife and children during his absence from his castle, has become the enemy of mankind, and passionately awaits an opportunity to take fitting vengeance upon Count Wallenstein, the author of his suffering. St. Leon, the lover of mankind, seeks to

³ Dunlap, and Professor Brander Matthews repeats the mistake in the preface of his edition of *Bunker Hill* (*Publications of the Dunlap Society*, vol. xv, 1891), errs in listing *Female Patriotism* and *Joan d'Arc* as two separate plays. Professor Quinn gives the title correctly in *Cambridge History of American Literature*, I, p. 496.

⁴ *Some Materials to serve for a Brief Memoir of John Daly Burk*, edited by Charles Campbell, Albany, 1868, pp. 43 ff.

⁵ *History of the American Theatre*, II, p. 294.

⁶ For the episode of Bethlem Gabor see *St. Leon, A Tale of the Sixteenth Century*, London, 1831, ch. xxxvii-xlii inclusive.

soften the heart of the misanthrope and to reconcile him to humanity. In the accomplishment of his altruistic enterprise, St. Leon, a typical superman of romantic literature, makes use of his skill in ventriloquism. On two occasions by the sudden exercise of his strange vocal power, he rescues Rosalind, the daughter of Count Wallenstein, from instant death at the hands of Gabor, and—what is scarcely less important—saves Gabor from himself by distracting him from his murderous purpose. In the end Count Wallenstein repents, Rosalind turns out to be St. Leon's long-lost wife, and Gabor's wife and children are restored to him. Can we be surprised that on this last domestic scene of this "historical" play, the "curtain falls slowly, to soft music"?

Most of this plot is of Burk's invention. What he has done is to take the vividly contrasted characters of St. Leon and Gabor, and complicate Godwin's simple narrative of their relationship by his own story of Count Wallenstein and his daughter. Godwin had consistently preserved the misanthropy of Gabor and represented him as preferring death to capture as a prisoner of war. For this effective and not unimpressive close Burk has substituted his double family reunion, a sentimental embellishment reminiscent of Kotzebue's *The Stranger*, the great "hit" of the contemporary stage.

It is only fair to Godwin to say that Burk's treatment does not do justice to the novel. To-day *St. Leon* is unpalatable especially because of its wearisome length and its pompous rhetoric. Yet we must bear in mind that the novel was highly thought of by many of Godwin's contemporaries, and grant that it is by no means an unsuccessful effort to present movingly the revolutionary ideal of brotherhood, and in Godwin's case especially the deep conviction that a love of humanity is innate, and that there is no

greater spiritual tragedy than the situation of an individual cut off from participation in human affection.⁷ The moral contrast between Gabor, the passionate misanthrope, and St. Leon, the philanthropist, isolated from mankind, ironically enough, by his possession of immortality, is treated superficially by Burk.⁸

I do not think that there can be any question that Burk's employment of ventriloquism was suggested by Brown's powerful story, *Wieland*. This work had appeared only a few years before, it had made a deep impression upon men interested in American literature, and Brown's use of ventriloquism as a motive was at the time sufficiently novel to lead him in the advertisement to comment, by way of justification, upon his introduction of incidents

⁷ For a fuller discussion of the significance of *St. Leon* see article by present writer, *William Godwin as a Sentimentalist in Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, XXXIII (1918), pp. 1-29.

⁸ The following judgments of *St. Leon* are instructive because they reveal how the novel impressed those of Godwin's contemporaries who felt the appeal of its humanitarianism and its typically romantic delineation of Titanism:

"What a picture of terrific sublimity is exhibited in the person of Bethlem Gabor! I contemplated it with awe, and my aversion to such utter extinction of sympathy in a human heart was subdued by the grandeur which envelopes every lineament of his ferocity."—Rev. T. S. Whalley in Anna Seward's *Letters*, vol. v, Letter li.

"Your Bethlem Gabor is wonderfully drawn. It is like the figures of Michel Angelo, any section of an outline of which taken apart would be improbable and false, but which are so combined to form a sublime whole. Having read I could coldly come back, and point to the caricature traits of the portrait, but while reading I could feel nothing but astonishment and admiration."—Thomas Holcroft, in Kegan Paul's *William Godwin*, II, p. 25.

On one occasion Byron asked Godwin why he did not write another novel. Godwin, then an old man, protested that the effort would mean his death. Byron replied: "And what matter? We should have another *St. Leon*."—*Gallery of Literary Portraits in Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country*, Oct., 1834.

"extraordinary and rare," and partaking of "the nature of miracles." Burk is not likely, therefore, to have obtained his knowledge of ventriloquism from any other source. Brown's Carwin and Burk's St. Leon are both actuated by a desire to influence the destiny of others, but with this important difference: St. Leon, unlike Carwin, always employs his power for virtuous ends alone. Finally, when Wieland attempts to kill his sister, as he has killed his wife and children, Carwin saves her by ordering him in a voice, supposed to be from God, to desist from murder. This probably suggested to Burk the means of Rosalind's rescue from Bethlem Gabor. Brown was an original genius, who was, nevertheless, it is generally recognized, strongly influenced himself by Godwin. Here, in Burk's play, we find combined material from the work of both master and follower.⁹

Burk's antecedents explain why it was natural for him to write such an anti-British play as *Bunker Hill* and to reveal acquaintance with a book by William Godwin. And here his own autobiographical narrative, contained in his *History of the Late War in Ireland* and hitherto ignored, is of no little value. As a hot-headed Irish republican Burk was inevitably in greater or less sympathy with the revolutionary literature of his day, and undoubtedly found the reading of it a profit and consolation. At a time when all liberals were objects of suspicion, there was bound to be a fellow-feeling between radicals, no matter of what

⁹In 1835 John Hobart Caunter published his play *St. Leon*. So far as I have been able to discover, it was never produced, and after reading it, I was not surprised. As in the case of Burk's treatment of his material in *Bethlem Gabor*, Caunter, in dramatizing Godwin's novel, has stripped it of its humanitarian significance. All that he retains are the melodramatic elements, the familiar features of a sensational Gothic romance.

stripe. Burk's experiences before he came to America are significant. He was tried for deism and republicanism before the Board of the University of Dublin, and like another Shelley, expelled. He then rejected "with contempt" the government's offer to come to a settlement, provided he would write as a defender of royalty. Realizing the need of united action among the Irish, Burk actively engaged in organizing secret societies which were to enlist in the national cause Irishmen of superior abilities, and he successfully launched a scheme for the formation of military units. Ultimately betrayed in 1794 by a government spy, many members of the societies were seized and executed with barbarous cruelty, and Burk says that as "the reputed projector of this conspiracy" he was compelled to flee to America, where he arrived in April, 1795. Strangely enough, he is completely silent about the incident that, according to his grand-daughter, was immediately responsible for his flight, namely, his reckless attempt to rescue an Irish rebel who was being led to execution—probably a member of one of his revolutionary societies. Moreover, we are assured—his grand-daughter is our authority—that Burk sympathized with the signers of the Declaration of Independence "with that fervor which could be best felt by the down-trodden sons of Erin." From such experiences, Burk's interest in Godwin and the writing of anti-British plays seem to follow as a matter of course.¹⁰

¹⁰ *History of the Late War in Ireland with An Account of the United Irish Association*, Philadelphia, 1799.

Some Materials to serve for a Brief Memoir of John Daly Burk, edited by Charles Campbell, Albany, 1868.

Of these two sources for Burk's life, the first contains autobiographical material of which commentators have apparently not availed themselves. Moreover, at the back of this pamphlet is a list of those works of Burk, nineteen in all, which the Philadelphia

II

Godwin has another rather curious indirect point of contact with the American stage through his relations with Thomas Cooper, one of the most distinguished tragedians of the early American theatre. When he was twelve years of age and after his family had been broken up and scattered by the death of his father in the East Indies, Cooper, who was only distantly related to Godwin, was taken into the philosopher's household and carefully educated by him. Godwin's motives were generous and sincere, but his intercourse with the boy was unfortunately disturbed by distressing quarrels and misunderstandings due to Godwin's irascible temper. Moreover, it was an age of educational experiment, and conscientious radicals were eagerly trying novel systems of pedagogy with unsuspecting children; Maria Edgeworth's father brought up a son after the fashion of Rousseau's *Emile*, and Thomas Day and John Thelwell undertook the training of young girls in preparation for marriage with them. Godwin's particular itch was for the theory of Helvetius that education is omnipotent in the formation of character; and, in consequence, he evidently subjected young Cooper to arbitrary exactions that were the source of frequent discord.¹¹ However, it

publisher Bailey intended to issue in a collected edition. This list, including poems, prose works, and plays, contains titles which, as far as I know, are unfamiliar to students of the period. The most noteworthy items are:

1. *Trial and Defence* before the Board of the College from which he was expelled—
2. *A Treatise on Government*.
3. *Prince of Susa*: A Tragedy.
4. *Island of Calypso*: a Pantomimic Drama, with occasional Song and Dialogue.
5. *The Exile*: A Tragedy. Never printed or performed.

¹¹ See Mrs. Shelley's note in Kegan Paul's *William Godwin*, I, p. 36.

is to Cooper's credit that in spite of this friction he was always fully appreciative of Godwin's interest in his affairs, and was willing that the philosopher should be recognized as his adviser and protector. Dissuaded from his youthful purpose "to walk to Paris and join the republican army," Cooper was encouraged by Godwin and Holcroft in his wish to become an actor. But ultimately, when, after various vicissitudes, first on the stage of Edinburgh and then as a strolling-player in England, Cooper made his appearance upon the London stage, his known intimacy with the radicals proved, in spite of the recognition of his talent, a handicap to his success.¹²

In 1796, Wignell, manager of the Philadelphia company, who was in London looking for recruits for his theatre, solicited Holcroft for the services of Cooper; but Holcroft, after consultation with Godwin, whom the former calls the youthful actor's "true and tried friend," decided against the proposal. Cooper, however—then only twenty years old—made the venture, and sailed to America at the same time as Mrs. Robert Merry, wife of the Della Cruscan poet and another of Wignell's "finds" in London. In his first interview with William Dunlap in New York, Cooper referred to Godwin in generous terms. "I have lived with him from infancy; I am his son, not in the course of nature, but much more than a common father is he to me; he has cherished and instructed me." It is evident from the tone of his account of the incident that the American manager thought that Cooper was fortunate in having so famous a teacher. Dunlap then takes occasion—and here his ardent republicanism leads his judgment astray—to express enthusiastic admiration for Godwin's very inferior *History of the Commonwealth*;

¹² William W. Clapp, *A Record of the Boston Stage*, 1853, p. 62.

that it had not been reprinted in America indicated, he declared, "an apathy or an ignorance that ought to be amended."¹³

When Washington's death was commemorated in New York, Cooper was requested to recite the monody, composed for the occasion by Charles Brockden Brown. In 1807, when Colman's *Iron Chest*, based upon Godwin's *Caleb Williams*, was first produced in New York, Cooper distinguished himself in the rôle of Mortimer. Cooper's friend and fellow player, the vivacious author of *Retrospections of the Stage* and *Retrospections of America*, John Bernard, attributed the independence of spirit exhibited by the actor through his life to his early education by Godwin.¹⁴ In a letter, written as late as 1833, John Howard Payne, the American dramatist and composer of *Home, Sweet Home*, sent Godwin news of his former pupil.¹⁵ Payne evidently felt that separation and the lapse of years had not entirely destroyed the ties that had bound Godwin and Cooper together. It is Godwin's merit that, notwithstanding innumerable petty disagreements with his friends, due to his own unreasonable vanity and acerbity of temper, many of them seem to have retained for him a not inconsiderable amount of solid respect. Those remained loyal to Godwin who had had ample reason to complain of the irritating penalties of association with him. In conclusion, it is not inopportune to emphasize the interest in thus finding associated with

¹³ *History of the American Theatre*, I, pp. 301, 341 ff.

¹⁴ *Retrospections of America*, New York, 1887, p. 267.

¹⁵ Kegan Paul, *William Godwin*, II, p. 326. Payne had met the Godwins in 1825 through Mrs. Shelley, for whom he cherished a deep, but apparently unrequited affection. See *The Romance of Mary W. Shelley, John Howard Payne, and Washington Irving*. The Bibliophile Society, Boston, 1907.

Godwin and Holcroft the names of well known Americans of their time: Burk, Dunlap, Wignell, Brown, and Payne.

III

After having had Joanna Baillie's *De Montfort*, a tragedy illustrative of the effect of hatred upon character, read aloud to her, Anna Seward was convinced not only that *Caleb Williams* was the source of Miss Baillie's design of writing plays exhibiting the operation of the passions, but also that Falkland in particular was the model of De Montfort.¹⁶ But internal evidence by no means justifies any such degree of confidence. Moreover, in view of her admirably frank Introductory Discourse we have no reason to doubt that Miss Baillie herself would have been the first to acknowledge indebtedness to Godwin, had it been sufficiently great to make her conscious of it.¹⁷

Godwin rather than Miss Baillie turns out to be the debtor. In his Preface to *Mandeville* (1817) Godwin states that the plot of his novel was worked up from suggestions found in Brown's *Wieland* and Baillie's *De Montfort*. It is strange that Godwin seems completely unaware of the influence he himself had exercised over the American novelist. He refers to him as "a person, certainly of distinguished genius, who I believe was born and died in the province of Pennsylvania in the United States of North America, and who calls himself C. B. Brown." To the latter, Godwin's obligation is not great, being revealed especially in his employment of religious fanaticism as a

¹⁶ Letter xli in vol. v of *Letters*.

¹⁷ *The Complete Poetical Works of Joanna Baillie*, First American Edition, Philadelphia, 1832. The anonymous author of the satire, *St. Godwin* (London, 1800) accuses (p. 177) Godwin of having taken the character of Bethlem Gabor from *De Montfort*.

factor in the development of the morbid psychology of his hero, Mandeville.

Godwin's dependence upon Miss Baillie's tragedy is much more conspicuous. His representation of hatred is identical with Miss Baillie's conception of the passion as a "rooted and settled aversion, which from opposition of character, aided by circumstances of little importance, grows at last into such antipathy and personal disgust as makes him who entertains it, feel, in the presence of him who is the object of it, a degree of torment and restlessness which is insufferable."¹⁸ As De Montfort hates Rezenvelt, so Mandeville hates Clifford. It is, in both cases, an ill-will that begins in the rivalries of boyhood, and, developing into an unreasonable hostility, is intensified by innumerable incidents, construed as personal insults by unduly proud, jealous natures, morbidly sensitive to injury. But whereas Miss Baillie represents De Montfort's hatred as directed solely against an individual, Godwin, influenced by his ultimate philosophic purpose, represents Mandeville's hatred as first directed against Clifford, and then extended to all mankind. The result is that we have in *Mandeville*, as in *St. Leon* and *Fleetwood* (1805), Godwin's characteristic portrayal of the tragic isolation of the individual deprived of communion with his fellows.

Rezenvelt and Clifford, objects of the hostility of De Montfort and Mandeville respectively, are similarly conceived as men of frank, generous spirit who regret the resentment they unintentionally arouse, and who are more than ready to extend their hands in friendship. The kindly efforts of common friends to effect a reconciliation end in failure. In Miss Baillie's play, and similarly in

¹⁸ Introductory Discourse.

Godwin's novel, it is a sister who, out of a deep, affectionate sympathy for the brother, tortured by his hatred, pleads most eloquently for reconciliation. And here the underlying moral significance of *Mandeville* is revealed. In Henrietta's passionate appeals to her brother, we hear again Godwin's arguments for the revolutionary ideal of philanthropy. It is clear that for Godwin the interest of Miss Baillie's *De Montfort* lay in the fact that it readily lent itself as a vehicle for the doctrines he was never tired of iterating.

Godwin's ardent statement of these doctrines in *Mandeville* drew from Shelley a commendation in which extravagance tips the balance to the point of absurdity. Indeed the whole passage affords amazing evidence that the appeal which *Mandeville* made to his moral enthusiasm paralyzed Shelley's critical faculty, and that, in this instance, at any rate, his loving familiarity with the noblest classics did nothing for the discipline of his taste. "The pleadings of Henrietta to Mandeville, after his recovering from madness, in favour of virtue and benevolent energy, compose, in every respect, the most perfect and beautiful piece of writing of modern times. It is the genuine doctrine of *Political Justice*, presented in one perspicacious and impressive river, and clothed in such enchanting melody of language as seems, not less than the writings of Plato, to realize those lines of Milton:

How charming is divine Philosophy!
Not harsh and crabbed—
But musical as is Apollo's lute.¹⁹

¹⁹ *Remarks on Mandeville and Mr. Godwin* in vol. III of *Prose Works of Percy Bysshe Shelley*, edited by Harry Buxton Forman, 4 vols., London, 1880. See also Letter 274 in *Letters of Shelley*, edited by Roger Ingpen, 2 vols., London, 1909.

This interpretation of the spirit of *Mandeville* is not only illuminative of Shelley's unbalanced idealism; it shows also how effectively Godwin had bent to his own moral purpose the material he found in Miss Baillie's *De Montfort*.

IV

In his eagerness to prove his point that "they who vote against it (i. e. *Caleb Williams*) are in a large majority,"²⁰ De Quincey decidedly overstates his case when (because Chénier²¹ treated it "contemptuously as coarse and vulgar") he asserts that the novel was not to French taste. Ample evidence disproves De Quincey's conclusion. French editions of *Caleb Williams* appeared in 1795-96 (l'an IV de la République, Paris), 1795 (Geneva), 1796 (Lausanne), 1797 (Paris), 1813 (Paris), 1846 (Paris)—an indication certainly that the novel enjoyed a vogue of genuine vitality. Garnier, the first translator of *Caleb*, correctly anticipated that the novel would appeal to republican sentiment in France. In a short time, as we are informed by Jean Cohen, the translator of *Mandeville*, five thousand copies of *Caleb* were disposed of. This statement is indirectly confirmed by the author of Godwin's obituary notice in the *Revue Britannique* (April, 1836), who says that *Caleb* always enjoyed in France an immense sale, and that its success was to be compared only to that of the novels of Walter Scott. It is obvious, moreover, that with significant points of contact with French literature *Caleb Williams* should be widely read. Samuel Constant, who was the uncle of Benjamin Constant—the

²⁰ *Works*, 16 vols., Edinburgh, 1862-71, vol. XI, Notes on Gilfillan's *Literary Portraits*.

²¹ Marie Joseph de Chénier, *Tableau Historique de l'état et des Progrès de la Littérature Française depuis 1789*, Paris, 1816, p. 227.

author of an unpublished translation of *Political Justice*—and who was himself one of the earliest translators of *Caleb Williams*, wrote in 1785 a novel, *Le Mari Sentimental*, that anticipates Godwin's criticism of penal conditions and makes clear that both men probably had the same master, the Italian penologist, Baccaria.²² Similarly, Godwin's sympathetic attitude toward the criminal as the victim of society is in complete harmony with those sentimental tendencies that ultimately in France found such eloquent expression in *Les Misérables*; indeed, Amiel's detections of Hugo's "blind spots" might well be an exposure of Godwin's fallacies.²³ A French critic, Amédée Pichot, observes that as a declaration of war against society and as an idealization of the outlaw, *Caleb Williams* has much in common with Charles Nodier's *Jean Sbogar*. He notes also similarity in the characteri-

²² With reference to Benjamin Constant, Crabb Robinson says (*Diary, Reminiscences, Correspondence*, Boston, 1870, I, 117): "A novel of his, *Adolph*, was said to favor free opinions on marriage. I had heard that he had translated Godwin's *Political Justice*, and inquired whether he had really done so. He said he had made the translation, but declined to publish it, because he thought it might injure the good cause in the then state of public feeling. Sooner or later, however, the work was to be published, for he regarded the original as one of the masterpieces of the age."

In the course of twenty years Constant came to feel that it would be unwise to publish his translation because the sophistries of *Political Justice* would discredit its truths. For his searching analysis, see his *Mélanges de Littérature et de Politique*, Paris, 1829.

²³ *Fragments d'un Journal Intime*, Geneva, I, pp. 179 ff. Interesting for purposes of comparison is Madame Riccoboni's distaste for the speedy redemptions, the "get-good-quick" conversions in *The Vicar of Wakefield*. To Garrick she wrote: "Pleading in favour of robbers, thieves and people of bad morals was very far from pleasing me.—Your vicar preaches to scoundrels and converts them: I should not like to meet his congregation in a wood, if I had a thousand guineas in my pocket." See Frank A. Hedgcock, *David Garrick and his French Friends*, London, p. 361.

zation of Falkland and Lara, and in an eulogistic strain points out analogous qualities in the genius of Godwin and Byron.²⁴ We can only conclude that in his unfavorable judgment of *Caleb Williams*, Chénier is, if anything, an exception. There were abundant reasons why the novel should have a hospitable reception in France. French critics, even when they are not in sympathy with Godwin's ideas, do not stint their praise of what they feel to be the power of his talent.

The French stage also furnishes evidence of the deep impression which *Caleb Williams* made in France. In 1798 the novel was dramatized under the title, *Falkland, ou la Conscience*, by Jean Louis Laya, notorious among his contemporaries for his satiric comedy, *L'Ami des Lois*, which, on the eve of the trial of Louis XVI, had created a tremendous public tumult as a fearless denunciation of the extreme Jacobins as destroyers of true liberty.²⁵

In another of his plays, *Jean Calas*, Laya had, like Godwin, attacked the barbarity of the prevailing penal system, but in his dramatic version of *Caleb Williams* he minimizes the social significance of the story. What Laya retains is the central situation, which is so full of histrionic opportunity: Falkland's secret crime and his struggle against discovery; in this respect the French version is similar to the English dramatization by Colman, *The Iron Chest*.²⁶ To observe the unities of time and place Laya

²⁴ *Essai sur la vie, le caractère et le génie de Lord Byron*, Paris, 1830, p. 79.

²⁵ For the details of this illuminating episode of the revolution see Henri Welschinger, *Le Théâtre de la Révolution*, Paris, 1880, pp. 380 ff.

²⁶ Godwin was bitter against Colman because in spite of his indebtedness to *Caleb Williams*, he never sent the author either a box or order for admission on the occasion of the production for *The Iron Chest*.—*Recollections of the Table-Talks of Samuel Rogers*, London,

has subjected the plot of the novel to intense condensation. The incidents which precipitate Falkland's confession occur on the same day, whereas in the novel wide intervals separate them. The crisis is brought about by one Andrews, who is a relative of Hawkins, and who, after the lapse of many years, comes to Falkland's mansion as a private chaplain to get an opportunity to clear the name of Hawkins of disgrace. On the eve of the production of the play in 1798, the official censor raised the question whether it would be wise to "montrer, pendant cinq actes, la vengeance céleste suspendue sur la tête d'un assassin; tant d'ennemis de la Révolution ne voyant que des assassins dans les fondateurs de la République";²⁷ fortunately, the objection was overruled by the minister. Laya's drama provided Talma with one of his great rôles, and undoubtedly had its share in making Godwin known in France.²⁸

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1856, II, p. 250. Godwin suffered even worse injustice from the novelist, George Walker. The latter, after having pillaged *Caleb Williams* for the plot of his novel, *Theodore Cyphon* (1796), proceeded in *The Vagabond* (1799) to burlesque unmercifully the doctrines of *Political Justice*.

²⁷ *Le Théâtre de la Révolution*, p. 124.

²⁸ A clerical gentleman, one of Anna Seward's literary correspondents, proposed to write a sequel to *Caleb Williams* in which Falkland, as an act of atonement, makes Caleb his heir, to the utter ruin of that virtuous youth who enters upon a life of debauchery, and becomes the oppressor of his fellows.—*Letters*, I, Letter xi.

Byron profited by his reading of *Caleb Williams*; in one of his quarrels with Lady Byron he threatened to persecute her even as Falkland had persecuted Caleb. See Harriet Beecher Stowe, *Lady Byron Vindicated*, Boston, 1870, p. 243.

XVIII.—THE DRAMATIC STRUCTURE OF *SAMSON AGONISTES*

It is a familiar maxim in criticism that the strength of a work of art is measured not by its weakest part, as a chain is by its weakest link, but by its strongest. Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus* is judged by its magnificent speeches and its awe-inspiring close, not by the fooleries of Mephistopheles. *Paradise Lost* is supremely great despite the long-winded discourses of the later books. It sometimes happens, however, that the excellence that gives a work its position in literature lifts its actual faults into the category of virtues. The average reader is so carried away by the supreme art of the great passages that he does not notice the blemishes. The critic instead of recognizing faults as spots on the sun refuses even to admit that they exist, contending that what are regarded as faults are really special beauties. Usually in time these matters are adjusted so that the man and the work are set into their proper niches. When a piece of literature has stood the test of time for two hundred and fifty years and only once has a considerable voice been raised in unfavorable criticism, and that over one hundred and fifty years ago, he would seem to be a very daring critic who would say that the lone voice was right and all the others wrong. Especially so when the work so criticized is Milton's *Samson Agonistes*. One takes courage, however, from the fact that the first critic who presumed to find fault with this play was Dr. Johnson.¹

Johnson was ready to praise *Samson Agonistes* for its indisputable excellencies, the fine speeches and the superb

¹ *The Rambler*, No. 139.

close, but he protested against corresponding praise for its dramatic structure. In 1751 he said that the work is "a drama . . . in which the intermediate parts have neither cause nor consequence, neither hasten nor retard the catastrophe";² and from that time to this his judgment has been opposed by nearly all the critics. Cumberland immediately retorted with a hot defence, maintaining that "the interview with Manoa is conducive to the catastrophe," since Manoa announces the feast of Dagon in celebration of the capture of Samson; that the introduction of Dalila ought not to be accounted episodical, "for who but this person is the cause and origin of all the pathos and distress of the story"; and that the interview with Harapha leads to his malicious counsel that Samson be further afflicted, thereby ushering in the catastrophe.

Professor Sampson³ agrees with Johnson that the intermediate events give "no forward dramatic movement to the sequence of events in the plot," but he holds that they serve a dramatic purpose by developing in the hero "an organic growth of spiritual passion." Each event, Manoa's proposal of a ransom, Dalila's attempt at reconciliation with Samson, Harapha's vainglorious boasting and insults, is a thwarted action, and these thwarted actions "have made Samson more than ever a solitary figure, to whom only divine aid can restore the final salvation. And therefore, life presenting nothing but defeat, death offers the ultimate victory." The unity of the play is not in the development of its plot but in the portrayal of character.

Professor Jebb⁴ still holds to the dramatic nexus of these events in the development of plot. The catastrophe

² *The Observer*, No. iv.

³ *The Lyric and Dramatic Poems of John Milton*, pp. xlvii f

⁴ *Samson Agonistes and the Hellenic Drama*.

is the pulling down of the temple of Dagon. Whatever helps to determine Samson's will and to define his purpose leads to the catastrophe. In his interview with Manoa he expresses his resolution to die and therefore declines the ransom. For the same reason he will not accept the intercession of Dalila, who would save him from death in captivity. Both Manoa and Dalila fail in their efforts to remove Samson from the scene where in his resolution to die he might bring about the catastrophe. Then Harapha as the result of his discomfiture at the hands of Samson leaves with threats which directly point to the catastrophe. That these arguments will not hold, and that Johnson in not hesitating to attack a great reputation was nearer the truth than his critics, I shall endeavor to make clear.

The problem before Milton was to write a play after the Greek model in which the culminating event should be the destruction of the Philistines and Samson in the collapse of the theatre at Gaza. Since the time limit of the play was twenty-four hours, he could not bring in any of the recorded exploits of Samson or his betrayal by Dalila as events motivating his imprisonment or his death. There is nothing in the biblical account between his capture and the feast at Gaza that could be used as material to fill up the intervening space, still less to motivate the catastrophe. The catastrophe is more than the mere pulling down of the theatre as a supreme feat of strength; it is the vindication of Jehovah, the God of the Hebrews, over Dagon, the god of the Philistines. Only as such is it worthy to be the culmination of Greek tragedy. Whatever is invented to fill up the play must point toward the spiritual significance of the tragedy, if dramatic unity is to be preserved. Three incidents were invented, those contained in the interviews with Manoa, Dalila, and Harapha. The question is, are they mere padding, as Johnson holds, or

are they an organic part of the plot, as Cumberland, Jebb, and others maintain, or are they necessary to the development of character, as Sampson contends.

The visit of Manoa has a good reason for being. What more natural than that he should visit his son when the holiday in Dagon's honor relieved Samson of his customary toil? Then, too, he has been laboring not wholly unsuccessfully to obtain Samson's ransom from the Philistines and now comes to report progress. This is the external motivation of his presence, but the dramatic significance of his visit is revealed much more in what he says about the meaning of the feast to Dagon than in the business of the ransom. The ransom is a trifle here and Samson will have none of it. Not, as Jebb says, because he is determined to die, but because he will not accept any mitigation of his punishment. It is Manoa's mission to reveal to Samson the religious import of his betraying his secret to Dalila. It is not merely that he is suffering bound and blind in prison, but his defeat means the victory of the Philistine god over Jehovah.

So Dagon shall be magnified, and God,
 Besides whom is no god, compared with idols,
 Disglorified, blasphemed, and had in scorn
 By the idolatrous rout amidst their wine;
 Which to have come to pass by means of thee,
 Samson, of all thy sufferings think the heaviest,
 Of all reproach the most with shame that ever
 Could have befallen thee and thy father's house. (II. 440-7)

This Samson admits and more, and is duly humble. He realizes his own worthlessness as God's agent; his only hope is that now he is out of it. Manoa assures him that

all the contest is now
 'Twixt God and Dagon; Dagon hath presumed,
 Thee overthrown, to enter lists with God,
 His deity comparing and preferring
 Before the God of Abraham.

(II. 461-5)

This is the course the drama must take and the catastrophe must mean that God, as Samson predicts,

will arise, and his great name assert.
Dagon must stoop, and shall ere long receive
Such a discomfit as shall quite despoil him
Of all these boasted trophies won on me,
And with confusion blank his worshippers. (ll. 467-471)

And Manoa is equally certain that God

will not long defer
To vindicate the glory of his name
Against all competition, nor will long
Endure it doubtful whether God be Lord
Or Dagon. (ll. 474-8)

Of Samson's personal share in the vindication Manoa sees as little as Samson, and therefore like a tender father he begs his son to accept the protection and comfort of his house, if he is successful in obtaining the ransom. As an inducement he holds out the possibility, which is more an article of hope than of faith, that God will restore his eyesight; else what is the meaning of Samson's returning strength? Samson may become God's agent after all. Manoa in thus trying to convince himself and Samson that this will be the case is indicating the course the tragedy will take, though there were to be certain ironic departures from his programme. That Manoa's proposal brings no comfort or hope to Samson only indicates the depth from which the drama must rise to its triumphant close. "So much," he exclaims in utter weariness and despondency,

So much, I feel my genial spirits droop,
My hopes all flat; nature within me seems
In all her functions weary of herself;
My race of glory run, and race of shame,
And I shall shortly be with them that rest. (ll. 594-8)

Tortured in mind and body he sees in "death's benumbing opium" his only cure. This is the nadir of his afflictions. Not one ray of light points to his fulfilling God's will in the overthrow of his enemies.

Nor am I in the list of them that hope;
 Hopeless are all my evils, all remediless.
 This one prayer yet remains, might I be heard,
 No long petition: speedy death,
 The close of all my miseries, and the balm. (ll. 647-651)

And the Chorus, after reflecting on the mysterious ways of Providence in dealing with the very elect, can but pray that God may turn his labors to a peaceful end. There is little vision now of a peaceful, still less of a triumphant end.

At this point Dalila enters and she should help toward this end both in the motivation of the closing action and in the lifting of the soul of Samson out of his despondency. But she does not. The incident takes on a purely personal character and in no way points toward the issues of the play. It is generally believed that Milton has here put himself in the place of Samson, and Mary Powell Milton, his first wife, in that of Dalila; so that one might account for the undramatic character of the episode by holding that Milton forgot his purpose as a dramatist in his retentive memory of his experience as a husband. But it does not seem necessary to do such violence to his reputation. Mary Milton was not a Dalila any more than Milton was a Samson. One might as well suppose that he had Salmasius in mind when he made Samson fulminate against Harapha. If it is not likely that his pamphlet on *The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*⁵ was occasioned by his matrimonial infelicities, we surely do

⁵ Chilton L. Powell's *English Domestic Relations*, Appendix B, pp. 225 f.

not need to see a long-distance reflection of them in the dialogue between Samson and Dalila. It is enough that this episode has to do with the personal concerns of the participants. It does not bear upon the spiritual course of the drama as contained in the beginning and the end. The whole dialogue consists of unavailing attempts at reconciliation on the one hand and absolutely relentless denunciation on the other. Samson's sightless eyes are fixed on Dalila and those of his soul do not perceive the divine purpose towards which he is unconsciously moving. This will be manifest from an analysis of the scene.

It was natural that Milton should use Dalila as a means of partly filling in the space between the early scenes and the catastrophe. She was the cause of Samson's misery and was therefore the person of all persons in whom an audience would be interested. But in bringing her upon the scene he did not make the motive of her appearance unmistakable. What is actually her reason for visiting Samson? Does she desire a reconciliation, or does she merely want Samson to suppose that she does? If she is acting hypocritically, as the Chorus and Samson and the critics think she is, what does she expect to gain? It is easy to see why Samson with his experience of her wiles should believe she was the same old Dalila. The Chorus being fellow Danites would think as he did. But why the critics? The difference between the presentation of Dalila and Harapha is very marked. There is no question of our contempt for Harapha, since he is a poltroon from the first. The very fact that Dalila should betake herself to the prison where Samson is confined and beg his forgiveness when the other Philistines are celebrating the victory of Dagon should predispose us in her favor. What would be the point of her shamming repentance at this time when Samson was humiliated in her eyes beyond all

recovery? With only her damsel train as a support and in the presence of the hostile Chorus she consistently and persistently implores forgiveness. Her speeches do not betray her as a scheming woman, as they should if the audience is to know her as such. On the other hand, what object could Milton have in presenting her as repentant and genuinely seeking forgiveness? Why should he do such violence to the biblical source and go counter to the conviction of every one of his audience or readers by clothing her in penitential garb? The truth seems to be that Milton tried to depict her as a hypocrite and just could not do so. He could not make her words betray her into actual insincerity. In fact, Milton's genius was not dramatic either in plot construction or in the delineation of character, and the failure to recognize that truth is responsible for most of the false criticism of this play.

How far Milton has departed from the design of the tragedy in depicting the personal relations of Samson and Dalila and in ignoring the conflict between the representative of Philistia and the champion of Israel will be clear from an examination of the dialogue. Dalila approaches Samson with the hesitation of one who has experienced the harsh displeasure of her lord, and then expresses a longing to know of his estate and to help him as best she may. To which Samson with bitter memories replies, "Out, out, hyena," and excoriates her for her treachery then and now. Taking her rebuff in all submissiveness, Dalila pleads for herself, urging the weakness of her sex and her love; she thought that by learning his secret she might hold him as love's prisoner and hers. Of course, one may say that she doth protest too much and therein displays her insincerity, but she has a severe antagonist, and not being a very clever woman, she wishes to convince with arguments. It was poor policy to try

to excuse her own weakness by calling attention to his, but it is not a sign of insincerity. She has a poor case before the bar of cold reason and she makes the mistake of seeking to strengthen it with arguments that will never convince Samson. He comes down upon them with characteristic emphasis: her weakness is a crime, her love is lust. She succeeds no better in urging the temptation of the priests, who so wrought upon her that they convinced her that it was her religious duty to yield. The argument would appeal to a modern psychologist, but not to the Puritanic Samson, who sees in it nothing but "feigned religion, smooth hypocrisy." He denies her any point of view but his own; she is his property, her gods are false, her duty is, therefore, to him and not to her gods. He browbeats her so that she admits that

In argument with men a woman ever
Goes by the worse, whatever is her cause. (ll. 903-4)

Yet once more she tries to break down his will by begging permission to minister to his every-day wants, for she will use her influence with the Philistines to have him released. Of course, she does not see the humiliation that Samson has suffered and is still suffering. She thinks her physical care will make up in large measure for what has happened. She merely wishes for him the same kind of happiness his father is planning and she presents it just as lovingly. But Samson rather lamely says she wishes to have him in her home that she may again betray him,

Bearing my words and doing to the lords
To gloss upon, and censuring, frown or smile! (ll. 947-8)

What would the lords care now that the champion is a broken man? Yet in the face of all this she begs to be allowed to approach and touch his hand, only to be threatened with instant death if she does so. Is it any wonder

then that Dalila gives up all further effort and takes what comfort she can out of the fame of her deed among her own people? She is no patient Griselda.

Now what has this incident accomplished either in the development of plot or in the preparation of Samson for his coming mission? Has it in any way revealed to Samson or the audience what the nature of the catastrophe will be? As Johnson said, the plot has stood still, and the effect upon Samson is that he is agitated in soul. God has sent her to abase him, he says, and to aggravate his folly. But there was no need of this, since this folly had been the theme of all his speeches before her entrance. He speaks of her also not in any divine indignation but with the wrath of an outraged husband visited upon a hypocritical wife. These explosions have hardly fitted him the better to do the will of God as contained in the catastrophe, nor does he see that more clearly as the consummation of his service. And surely all this scene is not necessary to shut off an avenue of escape from a comfortable existence, as Jebb maintains, when he had already refused his father's offer. The audience have had their attention so fixed on the issue of the conflict between man and wife that they would lose sight of the design of the tragedy. It is significant, too, of the specialized character of this scene that the speeches of the Chorus that immediately follow the departure of Dalila are quite apart from the theme of the tragedy; they have to do with marital relationships and end with the Miltonic pronouncement of the authority of the husband over the wife.

Therefore God's universal law
Gave to the man despotic power
Over his female in due awe,
Not from that right to part an hour,
Smile she or lour:
So shall he least confusion draw

On his whole life, not swayed
By female usurpation, nor dismayed. (ll. 1053-60)

Dalila's thwarted action, of which Professor Sampson speaks, does not leave Samson looking towards death as "ultimate victory" but moralizing on the perils of marriage, particularly his own.

The Harapha episode follows immediately. There is no question as to the intent of the Philistine giant. Frankly he says he came to see the great man, "of whom such noise hath walked about," and to boast of what he would have done had he been present when Samson performed some of his vaunted feats. He scoffs at Samson as one cast off by God,

no worthy match

For valour to assail, nor by the sword
Of noble warrior, so to stain his honour,
But by the barber's razor best subdued. (ll. 1164-7)

But Samson, chained as he is, dares him to single fight,
By combat to decide whose god is God,
Thine, or whom I with Israel's sons adore.

To which Harapha retorts,

Fair honour that thou dost thy God, in trusting
He will accept thee to defend his cause,
A murderher, a revolter, and a robber! (ll. 1176-89)

and thereby leads Samson to recount some of his past deeds when he had done his "part from Heaven assigned," so far justifying himself as God's champion. Samson, however, does not see his mission beyond the defeat of Harapha, which would be a poor vindication of God over Dagon. The audience, moreover, see the contest degenerating into a logomachy between a mighty bruiser on the one side and a "yellow" champion on the other. It is not a knight of God but a prize fighter who declares he will

with one buffet lay thy structure low,
Or swing thee in the air, then dash thee down,
To the hazard of thy brains and shattered sides.

(ll. 1239-41)

This is Samson rampant, the same that slew a thousand Philistines with the jawbone of an ass, rather than the Samson who was to execute God's punishment upon the Philistines in the house of Dagon their god. The encounter with Harapha leaves Samson as despondent as ever; it was no triumph to silence a coward. Death is still the only happy issue out of his afflictions, but it is death accepted passively, not one to be swallowed up in victory. If Harapha plans such for him,

my deadliest foe will prove
My speediest friend, by death to rid me hence;
The worst that he can give, to me the best. (ll. 1262-4)

His only consolation is that this death may drag its authors down with it. It will mean for him the cessation of his earthly woes. Samson spiritually is not further advanced than he was in the interview with Manoa. Here is no exhortation, no mighty urge to champion the cause of the Lord to the uttermost. He is really sunk in a state of spiritual lethargy. The character development has remained as stationary as the plot.

With the words of the Chorus following this episode comes the change. Here begins the note of final victory that does not cease till the close. The Chorus looks forward rather than reflects upon what has passed; or perhaps one should say that the justification of its speech lies in what is to come more than in what has happened. The victory over the poltroon Harapha is no occasion for rejoicing.

Oh how comely it is, and how reviving
To the spirits of just men long oppressed,

When God into the hands of their deliverer
 Puts invincible might,
 To quell the mighty of the earth, the oppressor,
 The brute and boisterous force of violent men, etc.

(ll. 1268-73)

It harks back not to anything within the play, but to the events of Samson's prime, and it directs the thoughts of the audience to the splendid vindication of Jehovah at the hands of the hero who but waits the divine opportunity.

When a messenger from the Philistines comes upon the scene demanding the presence of Samson at the feast of Gaza, the action leading directly to the catastrophe is set in motion. Samson refuses to go, because it is against the law of the Hebrews, because he will not prostitute holy things to idols, because he will not displease God. He has as many reasons as Dalila, and they all mean that he will not gratify the Philistines by making a public spectacle of himself. Then without any external motivation, but under the sudden promptings of divine inspiration, all his reasons for not going vanish and he sees the opportunity to become the minister of God in the humiliation of Dagon.

If there be aught of presage in the mind,
 This day will be remarkable in my life
 By some great act, or of my days the last.

The second message is insulting, as the first was not, but Samson receives it with a certain grim humor and a veiled acquiescence. Note too the unconscious irony of the Officer:

By this compliance thou wilt win the lords
 To favour, and perhaps to set thee free.

Always the thought of setting Samson free, an ironic contrast in all cases to the freedom through the gates of death. Samson's speech rises to splendid dignity becoming one who is faring forth on a mission to redeem all the wrong

and folly he has ever done. It is his last speech uttered on the stage and vastly different from the angry tirades hurled at Dalila and Harapha. As he goes out with the blessing of the Chorus, Manoa enters and reports his progress in the business of the ransom. He thinks from the growth of Samson's hair and the corresponding increase of his strength that God evidently intends "to use him further yet in some great service" and will doubtless also restore his eyesight. All this is matchless irony, for even as they speak the great deed is being done, but in a manner how different from their thought! When they hear the awful cry, they reason justly that it is from the Philistines whom Samson must be slaying, but wrongly when they infer that his sight has been restored. When the facts are told by the Messenger, the Chorus declare the significance of the deed and Manoa pronounces a sublime funeral oration in keeping with the greatness of the man and his mission.

The power of *Samson Agonistes* lies not in its dramatic structure or even in its characterization, but in the poetic content of certain speeches and the magnificence of the closing situation. Milton was essentially not a dramatist, but he was a poet. If at times his poetic genius seemed to flag, it did so rather because of the unfavorable material with which it dealt than because of the hardening of his poetic arteries. A one-sided contest with a woman who will not fight, and another with a *miles gloriosus* who dares not, are not the stuff out of which great poetry is made. When, however, the theme rises to the vindication of the might of Jehovah against a vain confidence in Dagon, the poetry is as lofty as the theme. With the exception, then, of the incident of Manoa, which has a dramatic significance in the development of the play, the

judgment of Johnson as expressed in the following passage would seem to stand before the attacks of the critics then and now. This is what he says: "This is undoubtedly a just and regular catastrophe, and the poem, therefore, has a beginning and an end which Aristotle himself could not have disapproved; but it must be allowed to want a middle, since nothing passes between the first act and the last, that either hastens or delays the death of Samson. The whole drama, if its superfluities were cut off, would scarcely fill a single act; yet this is the tragedy which ignorance has admired, and bigotry has applauded."

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XIX.—THE WAGER IN *CYMBELINE*.

"Why," said la Beale Isoud, . . . "ye may not be called a good knight, but if ye make a quarrel for a lady."

Morte Darthur, x, lvi.

It has long been the fashion, when *Cymbeline* has been under discussion, to cite Dr. Johnson's famous criticism, and indeed one feels a whimsical joy in setting down so delightful a bit of square-toed dogmatism. "This play has many just sentiments, some natural dialogues, and some pleasing scenes, but they are obtained at the expense of much incongruity. To remark the folly of the fiction, the absurdity of the conduct, the confusion of the names and manners of different times, and the impossibility of the events in any system of life, were to waste criticism upon unresisting imbecility, upon faults too evident for detection, and too gross for aggravation." The really significant thing, however, which makes this opinion worth repeating, is that so many of the best modern critics have expressed substantial agreement with it. Sir Walter Raleigh thinks that "Johnson speaks truly and moder-

ately,"¹ and Dr. H. H. Furness said, "Ay, Dr. Johnson was right in his estimate of this play of *Cymbeline*,—the sweetest, tenderest, profoundest of almost all the immortal galaxy."² Most writers, while not agreeing directly with Johnson, have taken a half-puzzled, half-apologetic attitude; they have obviously felt what Dr. Furness calls "deterioration" here, after the splendid achievement of the great tragedies and the Roman plays.

The purpose of the present paper is not to attempt a wholesale refutation of Johnson's charges, nor a defence of *Cymbeline* as a flawless work of art. This would require a degree of courage quite beyond the possession of the writer. There is too much truth and sense in Johnson's strictures to allow of their easy refutation. But it may very well be asked whether certain elements in the play which have been censured as blemishes are really such, after all; whether the critics from Johnson down, have not partly misunderstood Shakspeare's intentions. This is not a new subject of discussion; the play has never lacked defenders.³ One problem, however, and a very important one for the piece as a whole, still awaits solution. There has never been, so far as my knowledge extends, a really adequate analysis of the chief episode of the main plot, the wager between Posthumus Leonatus and Iachimo as to the chastity of Imogen, nor a wholly satisfactory treatment of the character and motives of Posthumus himself.

¹ *Shakespeare* (English Men of Letters Series) London, 1907, p. 142.

² *Variorum Cymbeline*, Phila., 1913, p. v.

³ The latest of these, Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch, in his unconventional study, *Notes on Shakespeare's Workmanship* (N. Y., 1917) takes direct issue with Johnson, finding the play a masterpiece of craftsmanship, expressed in dramatically appropriate language. With much that he says I cannot agree.

Perhaps the severest of all the criticisms of the play have been directed at Posthumus, particularly for his acceptance of the wager, his belief in the guilt of Imogen, and his attempt upon her life. "Why," asks Sir Walter Raleigh, "did [Shakespeare] create so exquisite a being as Imogen for the jealous and paltry Posthumus?"⁴ "Especially repulsive to us," remarks Professor Brander Matthews,⁵ "is the main theme of the story, the monstrous wager which the husband makes with a casual stranger about his wife's chastity . . . its abhorrent grossness is inconceivable under the circumstances in which Shakspeare presents it." Dr. MacCracken finds that "Posthumus, Imogen's husband, appears weak and impulsive, foolish in making his wife's constancy a matter for wagers, and absurdly quick to believe the worst of her."⁶ Critics who look upon Shakspeare's plays as storehouses of moral teaching are naturally severe on Posthumus; Professor R. G. Moulton may speak for these. "The wrong of Posthumus is the commonest of moral perversions, the false sense of honor that dares not refuse a challenge, whatever the moral cost implied in its acceptance. It is the perversion which is the product of social narrowness and artificiality; the duellist dreads the sentiment immediately surrounding him in the coterie that has dubbed itself 'men of honor,' and forgets the great world with its balanced judgments and eternal principles of right."⁷

On the other hand, Posthumus has had his defenders. It is amusing to find that Gervinus praises him for just the quality in which Moulton finds him lacking. "In this moral anger [during the wager-scene] Posthumus is

⁴ *Loc. cit.*, p. 140.

⁵ *Shakspeare as a Playwright*, N. Y., 1913, p. 335.

⁶ *Introduction to Shakespeare*, N. Y., 1910, p. 200.

⁷ *The Moral System of Shakespeare*, N. Y. 1903, p. 79.

no less the same rare being as in the rest of his conduct. His irritation on such noble grounds shows his previous calmness and discretion for the first time in its right light, and this his ever-tested moderation reminds us to consider again and again the reason which drives him exceptionally to exasperation in a transaction so indelicate."⁸ Similarly, Hudson finds in Posthumus a noble rage. "Womanhood is to him [Posthumus] a sacred thing: the whole course of his life has been such as to inspire him with the most chivalrous delicacy towards the sex: for his mother's sake and his own, but, above all, for Imogen's, the blood stirs within him, to hear woman made the theme of profane and scurrilous talk: the stale slander of libertine tongues his noble sensitiveness instinctively re-sents as the worst possible affront to himself."⁹

It would be possible to extend such illustrative quotations almost indefinitely, but the foregoing must suffice to show, in a general way, what the detractors and defenders of Posthumus think of him. I venture to think that neither party is wholly right, and that the true solution must come through methods somewhat different from theirs. The first thing which strikes one in reading comments on the play is the forgetfulness of critics that due allowance must be made for the social conventions of Shak-

⁸ *Shakespeare Commentaries*, translated by F. E. Bunnett, N. Y., 1875, p. 667. According to the view of Gervinus, Cymbeline "treats uniformly throughout two opposite ideas or moral qualities, namely, truth in word and deed (fidelity), and untruth and faithlessness, falseness in deed or perfidy, falseness in word or slander" (p. 671). The story of Little Red Riding Hood treats uniformly throughout two opposing ideas or moral qualities also, trusting innocence and scheming villany, but nobody has ever supposed that a desire to contrast these moral concepts as such had anything to do with the evolution of the story.

⁹ H. N. Hudson, *Shakespeare, his life, art, and characters*. Boston, 1882, vol. II, p. 443.

spere's day, and of the earlier times when the wager-story was taking shape. This is not always true, of course,—for example, the statement by Professor Brander Matthews just quoted is particularly concerned with the effect of the archaic wager-theme upon us nowadays, in contradistinction to people of earlier times. But the historical point of view is too often forgotten; Posthumus and Imogen and Iachimo are too often treated as if they were persons of the nineteenth century, and their acts interpreted like those of characters in a modern realistic novel, instead of a tale the outlines and spirit of which had been determined by centuries of literary and social tradition. So able a writer as Professor Schelling can say,¹⁰ "Of what conceivable importance . . . is it that the story of *Cymbeline* may be found in Holinshed and Boccaccio? Wholly negligible seem these little pickings of small scholarship in view of the simple, wholesome, dominating influence of that exquisite picture of truest and sweetest womanhood, Imogen." With this position I would take issue squarely,—all the more so since it seems to me particularly necessary in the case of *Cymbeline* to see what the sources are like, in order to judge Shakspeare's work intelligently. With some plays it may be possible to neglect literary antecedents, but not with this one.

The aim of the present paper, then, is to examine the main plot of *Cymbeline* in the light of Elizabethan social conventions and literary traditions. Some of the versions of the very old and widespread story which furnished the basis of this plot must be examined, but only for the purpose of illuminating Shakspeare's work, not for the sake of collecting and classifying variants of the wager-story. The

¹⁰ *Elizabethan Drama, 1558-1642*, Boston and New York, 1908, vol. I, p. 301.

main questions which we shall have to ask are: What was the meaning of the story as Shakspeare found it? How did he alter it, and what new elements did he give to it? How would the Elizabethans have understood it, as they saw it on the stage? In particular, what would they have thought of Posthumus Leonatus? Through such an analysis as this we shall, I hope, reach sound results, some of them of considerable importance. Chief of these is the substantial vindication of Posthumus, not, indeed, as a man without faults, but as blameless and even praiseworthy in accepting the wager, and, in the later part of the play, one to be judged as, like Othello, "perplex'd in the extreme" under great misfortune, and acting in accord with the ethics of his day and the conventions of romantic drama. Hardly less interesting will be the question why Posthumus has generally failed to arouse sympathy, and been regarded as weak and even vicious,—the answer to which can hardly be summed up in a single phrase.

The very real problem involved in analyzing the character of Posthumus is one which every thoughtful student of the play must have encountered. The writer has been obliged to make shift to explain it as best he could to university classes during the past fifteen years, and he has felt very keenly the inadequacy of existing interpretations. There is no need to urge the importance of a matter so vital to the play as a whole. But there is another reason which gives it a special demand upon our attention: there are strong indications that Shakspeare's chief interest was centred on the Posthumus-Imogen plot. Many of the inconsequences of the sub-plots seems due to another hand. Dr. Furness stated his convictions: "Regarded broadly, I believe that the Imogen love story and all that immediately touched it interested Shakespeare deeply; the Cymbeline portion was turned over to the assistant, who at

times grew vainglorious and inserted here and there, even on the ground sacred to Imogen, lines and sentiments that shine by their dulness."¹¹ Such conclusions are, of course, insusceptible of proof. But we may feel confident that the earlier scenes of the main plot interested Shakspeare deeply. Upon them he lavished some of the most brilliant writing in the play. A correct understanding of them is of importance not only for *Cymbeline* as a whole, but for his general method in dramatic romance.

Readers who are repelled by "sources and analogues" may omit the following section, if they choose. But some knowledge of these as a whole is desirable, if only to show how widespread and how plastic was Shakespeare's theme. A study of the wager-plot as a piece of story-telling would be full of picturesque contrasts,—it has exercised its charm for centuries upon gentle and simple, the profane and the pious, upon ballad-singers, moralists, poets, dramatists, and novelists.

I

The exact source or sources used for the Imogen-Posthumus-Iachimo plot will probably never be known. This plot is of course quite independent of the pseudo-historical setting in early Britain which Shakspeare derived from Holinshed. The closest analogue,—a very close one in many respects—is the ninth *novella* of the second day in Boccaccio's *Decameron*. There seems little doubt that this, or some version of it, is to be regarded as the main source. The resemblances between it and Shakspeare's own work are striking.¹² He drew directly or indirectly

¹¹ *Loc. cit.*, p. vii.

¹² As has often been pointed out, the frightful punishment which Autolycus predicts for the Clown in the *Winter's Tale* (Act. iv, Scene iv, ll. 812 ff.) seems to have been borrowed from the torture of Ambrogiuolo in this *novella*, though Boccaccio did not invent it.

upon the *Decameron* for other plays, and there is every reason to suppose that he must have been acquainted with so well-known a book. On the other hand, there are great divergences. How far these are due to the dramatist himself, it is difficult to say. Boccaccio's tales had of course been retold many times in different tongues, including English, with no great fidelity to the original, and Shakspeare may have worked from one of these altered versions.¹³ Furthermore, he may have known the wager-story quite independently of Boccaccio. It had attained a wide circulation in Western Europe before Boccaccio's time, and versions quite different from his were popular in the sixteenth century. Attempts to define Shakspeare's exact dependence on his models are, then, extremely hazardous, particularly since account must be taken of versions no longer extant. But the matter need not be unduly complicated; we ought to get rid of one "source" which encumbers "introductions" to *Cymbeline*,—the book of tales called *Westward for Smelts*. Shakspeare's supposed indebtedness to this appears, if the expression may be pardoned, particularly fishy.¹⁴ After all, we ought to credit

¹³ This has long been realized. Malone quoted the significant words in the 1620 English translation of the *Decameron* (see his ed. of 1793): "I know, most worthy lord, (says the printer in his Epistle Dedicatory,) that many of them [the novels of Boccace] have long since been published before, as stolen from the original author, and yet not beautified with his sweet style and elocution of phrase, neither savouring of his singular morall applications."

¹⁴ *Westward for Smelts, or the Water-man's fare of mad merry Western wenches, whose tongues, albeit like Bell-clappers they neuer leaue ringing, yet their tales are sweet, and will much content you.*

Written by Kinde Kit of Kingstone, London, 1620. Ed. J. O. Halliwell, London, Percy Society, 1848, vol. 22. The tale told by the Fishwife of Stand on the Green is the one presenting resemblances to *Cymbeline*. *Westward for Smelts* was entered in the Stationers's Register in Jan., 1619 (1620), and published in 1620.

him with a certain amount of inventiveness. He did not have to get all his incidents from books.

For purposes of convenience, we shall take Boccaccio's *novella*, as the closest extant analogue, for a point of

The only evidence of an earlier edition is a statement by Steevens: "It was published in a quarto pamphlet 1603. This is the only copy of it which I have hitherto seen. There is a late entry of it in the books of the Stationers' Company, Jan. 1619, where it is said to have been written by Kitt of Kingston." (quoted from the ed. of 1778) Malone (*ibid*) subjoins to Steevens's statement: "The only part of the fable, however, which can be pronounced with certainty to be drawn from thence, is, Imogen's wandering about after Pisanio has left her in the forest; her being almost famished; and being taken, at a subsequent period, into the service of the Roman General as a page." Collier (*Shakespeare's Library*, London, n. d., vol. II, p. xv), referring to Malone's remarks in Boswell's *Shakespeare*, observes that no copy of the date 1603 exists, "and the entry in the Stationers' Register seems to establish that it was a new publication. . . . we feel confident that there was no earlier impression [than that of 1620], and that Malone had been misinformed when he spoke of the existence of a copy dated 1603." Halliwell, (*Remarks of M. Karl Simrock on the Plots of Shakespeare's Plays*, Shakespeare Society, London, 1850, p. 64) says: "I am inclined to believe Steevens's assertion, because he refers to the entry in the Stationers' Register as containing information not found in the edition he used." But Steevens does not say that the edition of 1603 did not refer to Kind Kit as the author. The name looks like a pseudonym, and perhaps Steevens thought the evidence of the *Register* worth quoting.

The resemblances between *Westward for Smelts* and *Cymbeline* have been most elaborately stated by Dowden (Introduction to *Cymbeline* in the *Arden Shakespeare*, London, 1903, p. xxix) "Here, as in Shakespeare's play, there is an English historical background; the disclosure of the villainy is preceded by the events of a battlefield. Here the heroine wanders in want of food, and she takes service under the leader of an army as a page; here the first suggestion of a wager comes from the villain; here he holds discourse with the lady, and represents himself as in her husband's confidence; and here she offers herself to be slain, and the faithful serving-man suggests that she shall assume a disguise."—All this is of no significance, however, unless we believe Steevens's assertion that he had seen an edition dated 1603. Dowden recognizes this: "But if *Westward for Smelts* was not published until 1620, some of the incidents of the

departure in analyzing the main plot of *Cymbeline*. But the fortunes of the theme in other hands must first be briefly examined.

The origins of the story of the man who makes a wager on the honor of his wife or mistress lie too far in the obscurity of the past for the sharpest eye to penetrate. Versions of especial interest, showing marked analogies

tale may have been conceived under the influence of the drama as seen upon the stage."

Furthermore, while the list of resemblances drawn up by Dowden looks very convincing, it shrinks woefully when examined closely, and when the very striking points in which the tale diverges from Shakspeare are observed, affecting the most dramatic part of the narrative;—for example, the villain is not carried into the chamber in a chest, he creeps under the bed; he does not observe the mole under the heroine's breast, but steals a gold crucifix. It hardly seems likely that the historical setting in the reign of Henry VI gave Shakspeare the idea of connecting the action with the mythical *Cymbeline* and the wars with the Romans. Most of the other resemblances can be paralleled from other early versions of the tale, or are such as arise naturally from the situation. The assumption of male attire and service as a page is found not only in Boccaccio but the *Miracle, Florus and Jehane* and the West Highland tale of *The Chest* (as a gillie); the idea of service in war follows naturally in days when gentlemen spent most of their time in fighting (cf. the *Florus*). The ladies in the *Comte de Poitiers* and the *Violette* are abandoned in the forest, and in both of these, as in many other versions, "the first suggestion of a wager comes from the villain, and he holds discourse with the lady." That a heroine abandoned in a forest should seek food, or meditate death, or that the faithful servant should suggest the donning of male attire are not, in my judgment, incidents of significance, once granted the basic situation. Such episodes as these are as common in romantic fiction as daisies in the fields.

It seems most likely that Kind Kit and Shakspeare used independent versions, each related to the *novella* of Boccaccio. I doubt if Kind Kit, had he drawn from Shakspeare's play, would have omitted such striking motives as the chest and the birthmark; and I cannot see any reason for supposing Shakspeare indebted to him at all, even granting that an edition of *Westward for Smelts* was published in 1603.

to *Cymbeline*, appear in Old French. In commenting on these, Gaston Paris remarked that "un chant populaire grec conserve la forme la plus ancienne de ce thème, et indique d'où il provient."¹⁵ *Li Comte de Poitiers*, a metrical romance of the thirteenth century, was probably the work of a travelling singer, who may well have drawn his material from popular sources.¹⁶ The *Roman de la Violette*, a very charming and elaborate poem, is, on the other hand, thoroughly aristocratic, designed for a high-born audience, and full of the refinements of courtly procedure.¹⁷ *Dou Roi Flore et de la Bielle Jehane*, a sprightly prose romance of the thirteenth century, which has been rendered into English by William Morris, shows strong ecclesiastical influence: the hero is more moved by piety than by love.¹⁸ *Un Miracle de Nostre Dame* (late fourteenth century) is a somewhat crude popular combination of religious and secular motives, showing faint resemblances to *Cymbeline* not observable in Boccaccio.¹⁹ In

¹⁵ *Littérature française au moyen âge*, Paris, 1905, p. 89.

¹⁶ Ed. F. Michel, Paris, 1831.

¹⁷ Ed. F. Michel, Paris, 1834. There has been some discussion as to the priority of this and the *Poitiers*. There can be little doubt, I think, that the *Violette* is later; its motivation, descriptions, social conventions and general literary workmanship indicate a more sophisticated era.

¹⁸ Moland et d'Héricault: *Nouvelles françaises en prose du xiii^e siècle*. Bibl. Elzev. 1856, pp. 83 ff. Also Monmerqué et Michel: *Théâtre français au moyen âge*, Paris, 1842, pp. 417 ff. also contains the *Miracle*). For William Morris's version, see his *Old French Romances done into English*, London, 1896.

¹⁹ Too much should not be made of these; they seem the sort of thing which might occur in tales developing independently from the same situation. They were first noted by Collier in 1839, and still encumber discussions of sources. Collier's comment is reprinted in full by Dowden, *Arden Cymbeline*, pp. xxxii-iii. If there is any force in these parallels, they show that Shakspeare utilized a source now lost, related in some way to the *Miracle*.

all these versions, the personages belong to the nobility, though the method of narrative often suggests a homespun audience.

Other versions reflect bourgeois society. The most noteworthy of these is that by Boccaccio, with which should be compared the probably contemporaneous tale of an unknown Italian, generally referred to as "Anonymus."²⁰ In *Le Grand Parangon des nouvelles Nouvelles* by Nicholas de Troyes,²¹ written about 1536, is a treatment of the theme apparently based upon Boccaccio; it would be interesting to get a French version of this date uninfluenced by the Italian. The setting among a group of merchants is represented in England by the fragment of a prose tale, *Frederick of Jennen*, in the Douce Collection in the Bodleian,²² which breaks off directly after the wager-scene. How it would have been continued cannot be predicted with certainty, for a group of versions with a different dénouement must be taken into consideration.

In these the heroine deceives the villain into believing that she has sacrificed her honor, by persuading another woman to take her place,—a situation reminiscent of the central plot of *Measure for Measure* and *All's Well*. Here

²⁰ Cf. R. Ohle, *Shakespeare's Cymbeline und seine Romanischen Vorläufer*, Berlin, 1890; and M. Landau, *Quellen des Dekameron*, Stuttgart, 1884, p. 141.

²¹ Ed. E. Mabilie, Paris, 1869. Mabilie prints the following summary from a catalogue in the Ms., but does not reprint the tale itself. "La LII nouvelle, par maistre Ambrose. D'un marchand qui gagea à un autre qu'il feroit son plaisir de sa femme, et comment il fut en sa maison et ne lui fit rien, mais il rapporta par trayson au marchand, comme il avoit fait son plaisir de sa femme dont il gagna la gageure; mais à la fin la trayson fut descelée dont le marchand fut griefment pugny."

²² F. J. Furnivall, *Robert Laneham's Letter*, N. Y. and London, 1907. The colophon to the tale states that it was printed in Antwerp in 1518. (See p. xxv.)

belong an episode in the tale of *Taliesin* in the *Mabinogion*, in its present form as late as the fifteenth century,²³ and a noteworthy German rhymed tale, of a popular character, by Ruprecht of Würzburg.²⁴ Both of these are obviously derived from French sources. In the German story, the bet is made with an inn-keeper, after the merchants have given unfavorable accounts of their wives. An episode in the romance of *Perceforest* shows how the lady turns the tables on her accusers; a similar episode is found in *Bandello*.²⁵

The wager-theme was popular in Germany and Scandinavia in the sixteenth century; it was put into dramatic form by Jakob Ayrer about 1600, and it appears in Danish and Icelandic ballads.²⁶ The traditional versions are of great interest, comprising tales and ballads in Scottish, German, Roumanian, Venetian, Sicilian, gipsy, etc., and reflecting the theme in different ways.²⁷

As already stated, it is no part of the purpose of the present discussion to attempt an analysis of the wager-story in European literature. The foregoing brief review makes it plain how complicated such an analysis would be. Different episodes are combined with one another and

²³ See the edition by Nutt, London, 1902, pp. 301 ff.: "A very considerable number of 'Taliesin' poems had accumulated by the fifteenth century, from amongst which towards the close, as is most likely, a selection was made by the compiler of our tale." (P. 356.)

²⁴ F. H. von der Hagen, *Gesammtabenteuer: Hundert altdeutsche Erzählungen*. Bd. III, No. LXVIII; pp. 356 ff., Stuttgart and Tübingen, 1850. Cf. also the Introduction, pp. xci ff. An outline of the tale is given on p. 353. See also Brüder Grimm: *Altdeutsche Wälder*, Cassel, 1815; I, p. 35 (*Von zwein kaufman*).

²⁵ R. Köhler, *Jahrbuch für Romanische und Englische Litteratur*, 1867, vol. 8, pp. 51 ff.

²⁶ Gollancz, *Temple Shakespeare*, Introduction, p. x, note.

²⁷ See especially the Introduction to the ballad of *The Two Knights*, Child, *English and Scottish Ballads*, vol. v, pp. 21 ff. (No. 268).

with extraneous material in bewildering variety, and too much has been lost to make it possible to trace a genealogy with safety. The wager-theme was constantly adapted to new settings and altered social conditions, and its motivation was correspondingly varied. As with medieval story in general, the incidents are but a framework upon which to build a structure suited to the taste of the times and the fancy of the teller. Only through a study of the circumstances and conventions which shaped it, and which influenced the author, can a given version be correctly interpreted.

II

Our attempt to gain a better understanding of the situation in *Cymbeline* will be simplified if we first consider the wager-scene by itself, with its immediate consequences (Acts I and II), and then the later conduct of Posthumus (Acts III-IV). Analysis of the wager itself must begin with a review of the closest extant analogue, which we may treat with due reservations as the source,—the *novella* in the *Decameron*. The explanation of the incidents in the *novella* must, of course, be sought as much in medieval habits of thought as in Boccaccio's own convictions. Since we do not know his direct source, it is difficult to estimate the extent to which he reshaped the tale; the main outlines are in accord with tradition. It is evident that he was not in full sympathy with the story.²⁸

At an inn in Paris some "very considerable Italian merchants" speak slightly of their wives, agreeing that women amuse themselves with lovers, when left behind at home, just as men do with such girls as come their way. But one merchant, named Bernabo, maintains that he has a thoroughly virtuous and incorruptible spouse. There-

²⁸ See below, p. 408, note 32.

upon Ambrogiuolo of Pisa scoffs at his boast, and saying that he must "reason with him" on the matter, proceeds in the following vein.²⁹ "'Thou thyself sayst thy wife is a woman and that she is of flesh and blood, as are other women. If this be so, those same desires must be hers and the same powers that are in other women to resist these natural appetites; wherefore however honest she may be, it is possible she may do that which other women do. . . .'" To which Bernabo made answer, saying, 'I am a merchant, and not a philosopher, and as a merchant I will answer.'" He thereupon maintains that there are "discreet" women, and that his wife is one of them. The dispute runs on, and finally Bernabo proposes the wager. "'Since thou wilt have it that all women are so compliant and that thine address is such, I am content, so I may certify thee of my wife's honesty, to have my head cut off, as thou canst anywise avail to bring her to do thy pleasure in aught of the kind; and if thou fail thereof, I will have thee lose no otherwhat than a thousand gold florins.'" Ambrogiuolo replies that he will have no advantage in shedding Bernabo's blood, if he wins the wager, but he proposes that Bernabo stake five thousand florins against his thousand, and that he will undertake within three months to bring Bernabo proofs of his wife's infidelity. So the matter is arranged.

As to the social station and general type of mind represented by Bernabo there can be no doubt. He is not an aristocrat, but a merchant, and he opposes to the philosophical discussion in which he finds himself involved the simple faith of a man of the middle class,³⁰ proud in the accomplishments of a wife who would make a good waiting-woman,—"'moreover,' said [Bernabo], 'there was no

²⁹ I use the translation in the Furness *Variorum*.

³⁰ "I am a merchant, and not a philosopher."

sewer, or in other words, no serving-man alive who served better or more deftly at a nobleman's table than did she.' ” And it is noteworthy that it is he himself who proposes the wager, not the villain, as in Shakspeare's play. It is not an arrangement agreed to after provocation, but one put forward by Bernabo himself as a happy solution of the dispute. Clearly, if we are to blame Posthumus, we must be far more severe with Bernabo.

When considered from the medieval point of view, however, the conduct of Bernabo becomes comprehensible immediately. The beginnings of the story, as we may judge from the ballads and popular tales, told of a boast as to the excellence of a wife made in much the same spirit in which a man might vaunt the superior qualities of his horse. In early days one bought wives much as one now buys animals. In a version taken down orally in Islay in 1859, which bears many marks of tradition reaching back hundreds of years, the dispute is between a young king, who has just married—and paid for—a beautiful wife, and a sea-captain. The king wishes to buy silks for her, the best in the ship.

“Indeed!” said the captain, “thou must have an exceedingly good wife when thou must have a gown of the best silk I have on board.” “I have that,” said the king, “a wife many of whose equals are not to be got.” “Wilt thou lay a wager,” said the captain, “that with all her goodness I will not get leave to enter thy chamber?” “I will lay a wager, anything thou desiredst (sic), that thou wilt not.” “What wager wilt thou lay?” said the captain. “I will put the heirship in pledge,” said the king. Said the captain, “I will put all the silk in ship in pledge to thee that I will.” The captain came on shore and the king went on board.²¹

²¹ J. F. Campbell, *Popular Tales of the West Highlands*, Edinburgh, 1860, vol. II, No. 18, pp. 1 ff. The editor comments: “It is not now the custom to buy a wife, and thereby acquire the right to shoot her; and yet this right is insisted upon, and acknowledged, and the story hinges on it” (p. 14).

In Boccaccio's tale the confidence of the husband has become a virtue: Bernabo opposes his faith in his wife's constancy to sophisticated arguments about the inherent sinfulness of women. We know that he was right in his estimate of her virtue; the tale proves that. And he is willing to go to any lengths to proclaim his confidence in her; the more dangerous the test, the more perfect does this confidence appear. Nowadays we feel that to give a villain a chance to attempt to seduce one's wife, for the sake of proving to him and to others her unassailable chastity, would be the height of folly, and of cruelty to her. But the Middle Ages thought otherwise; they believed that a virtue exaggerated, as it seems to us, beyond all reason, was a virtue magnified. Boccaccio affords various illustrations of this in the *Decameron*. In the tale of Mithridanes and Nathan (x, 3) a man, to prove his perfect liberality—that virtue so highly esteemed in the medieval prince—is ready to give his very life to anyone who asks it, even though the motive for taking it be ignoble. The tale of the patience of Griselda (x, 10), so far transgressing what we feel to be common-sense, is too well known to require more than mention. In the story of *The Two Friends* (x, 8), Gisippus, betrothed to Sophronia, finding that his friend Titus is passionately in love with her, renounces all his rights as a husband, giving her to Titus immediately after the wedding, in such a fashion that the girl does not recognize the substitution. Such, according to the story, is the self-sacrifice of the perfect friend. The well-known tale of *Amis and Amile*, in which one friend kills his children in order to heal the leprosy afflicting the other, points the same moral not less fantastically.

It is characteristic of stories of this type that the innocent are made to suffer in such demonstrations of virtue;

the children of Amile are completely forgotten in their father's love for his friend; Gisippus has not thought of the feelings of Sophronia in the cruel deception which emphasizes his devotion to Titus. In the variants of the wager-story in which the heroine preserves her honor by a trick, no thought is given to the woman substituted in her place. What of *her* honor? In the version of *The Two Knights* printed by Child the girl is the heroine's own niece,—a situation repulsive in the extreme to modern feelings.

Such tales as these enable us, through their very extravagances, to understand Bernabo's act in proposing a test which seems absurd and cruel, in order to show his complete faith in his wife's chastity. He does not, indeed, stand the trial of perfect constancy to the end; he is later overwhelmed by the apparently convincing evidence of his wife's infidelity. But in the beginning he is willing to go to any lengths to show his confidence. The Middle Ages obviously accepted episodes like this in the uncompromising belief that one cannot have too much of a virtue. There are, however, clear indications that Boccaccio did not wholly sympathize with the old medieval tale which he was retelling. His handling of it is reminiscent of the way in which Chaucer, through the Clerk's *Envoy*, pokes fun at the women after the "virtue-story" of the patient Griselda.³²

³² Boccaccio's tale is ostensibly told to show that the deceiver is sooner or later punished for his deception. Another moral is pointed by the Sultan of Alexandria at the end of the story, who "praised very highly the actions, courage and virtue of Ginevra." But this conclusion did not appeal to the gay young Florentines of Boccaccio's party, who had small faith in women's virtue, and knew many anecdotes illustrating their frailty. So Dioneo, perhaps the most loose-tongued of them all, maintains, in telling the tale of the old husband and the young wife immediately following, "that Ber-

The application of all this to *Cymbeline* is obvious. If Posthumus, in his ardor to maintain the unassailable chastity of his wife, accepts a wager which seems to us abhorrent and unfeeling, we have only to remember that there was enough of the medieval point of view surviving in Shakspeare's own day to make the arrangement seem justifiable. There is ample evidence of this in other Shakesperean plays. Consider, for instance, the situation in the *Two Gentlemen of Verona*. Valentine is so perfect a friend that despite all the treachery of Proteus he is willing to give him his lady Silvia, at the very moment when he finds Proteus about to offer her the grossest outrage and violence.³³

And, that my love may appear plain and free,
All that was mine in Silvia I give thee.

Silvia, it will be recalled, is not consulted, though she has suffered extreme distress for her lover's sake. The whole situation is very reminiscent of that in Boccaccio's *novella* just referred to, in its general moral bearings, in which Gisippus, to show himself a perfect friend, gives Titus his own bride. In the *Merchant of Venice* Antonio is ready to place his life in jeopardy that his friend Bassanio may go to Belmont properly furnished as a wooer.

The first thing necessary with the wager-episode, then, is to look at it through medieval eyes. What seems to

nabo in disputing with Ambrogiuolo had acted rashly and foolishly." [cavalcasse la capra in verso il chino]. And all the company agree laughingly "that Dioneo spoke the truth and that Bernabo had been a great fool."

³³ Act v, Scene iv, ll. 82-3. The *Two Gentlemen of Verona* has been generally misunderstood as a love-story, whereas it is fundamentally a virtue-story illustrating friendship. Ingenious attempts like Dr. Batteson's to get around this dénouement by subtleties of logic miss the point completely. Cf. Sampson, Introduction to *Tudor Shakespeare, Two Gentlemen*, pp. xiv, xv.

modern feeling repugnant becomes plausible, and the strange popularity of the theme becomes more comprehensible. But there is much more in the situation than we can gather from Boccaccio. Shakspeare, as we shall see, has so altered it as to make the wager appear still more reasonable, and the conduct of the husband not only excusable, but inevitable.

III

The chivalric discussion at the house of Philario which Shakspeare describes in *Cymbeline* is as different as possible from the contest between "philosophy" and the pride of a bourgeois merchant in an accomplished wife in the pages of Boccaccio. It is clear at once that Shakspeare's characters are gentlemen, gathered at the residence of an Italian of wealth and social position. Their conversation is the elaborate, rather affected language of the courtier; this is particularly noticeable in the speeches of Iachimo. The social status of Posthumus is unmistakable; he is sprung from the noble stock of the Leonati and married to the daughter of a king. He is introduced to the company as an equal,—as Philario puts it to his friends, "Let him be so entertained amongst you as suits, with gentlemen of your knowing, to a stranger of his quality." This is, to all intents and purposes, a scene from the life of Shakspeare's own time, with the social conventions of gentler folk,—just the sort of company in which a young Englishman making the grand tour at the end of the sixteenth century might have found himself. The absurdity of connecting it with early Britain hardly needs comment: as Dr. Herford says, "Shakespeare clearly designed *Cymbeline* to be as much and as little a picture of Augustan Britain as *Hamlet* is a picture of eleventh century Denmark."

Shortly after the entrance of Posthumus it is recalled that there had once been a quarrel in Orleans, which came near to "the arbitrament of swords," in which Posthumus maintained his lady to be "more fair, virtuous, wise, chaste, constant-qualified and less attemptable" than the rarest of the ladies of France. Iachimo remarks that he must not rate her above those of Italy, and Posthumus retorts that he would "abate her nothing." The dispute waxes, and Iachimo alleges that "an accomplished courtier" could win away the lady, offering to wager thereon half of his estate against a valuable ring worn by Posthumus. Repeating his offer, he sets his own stake at ten thousand ducats. Posthumus embraces Iachimo's conditions, with the proviso that "if she remain unseduced, you not making it appear otherwise, for your ill opinion and the assault you have made to her chastity, you shall answer me with your sword." Thus the wager is concluded. The scene should of course be read in full, and compared with the account of it given by the repentant Iachimo in Act V.

The important thing to note here is that Shakspeare, in making Philario and Iachimo gentlemen instead of merchants, or an inn-keeper and a merchant, has made the conduct of Posthumus far more natural. The confidence of a trusting husband, willing to go to any extreme to show his confidence in his wife's integrity, is here reinforced by the solemn duty of a knight not to hesitate when the virtues and excellence of his lady are called in question. According to the rules of chivalry, Posthumus could have acted, as the perfect lover and gentleman, in no other way. We shall not attempt to determine how far Shakspeare, in placing the scene in an aristocratic rather than a bourgeois society, was influenced by a desire to make his story more convincing. Professor Thorndike has reminded us that in the dramatic romances of Beaumont and

Fletcher, to which this play probably owes much, "all principal characters are people of the court; even those who are utterly detestable hold positions of rank." Whether accident or design, this alteration is of the highest significance.

Various details in the conversation reveal the chivalric conventions which control it. Posthumus says of Imogen, "Being so far provoked as I was in France, I would abate her nothing, though I profess myself her adorer, not her friend," that is to say, "If I were to be so much roused to speak my mind as I was in France, I would rate her virtue no lower than I did then, even though I were judging as one worshipping her from afar, instead of as her accepted lover."³⁴ The purity of Imogen is so compelling

³⁴This sentence has been generally misunderstood. The various attempts at elucidating it may be studied in the *Variorum*. "Friend" of course often means "lover," "sweetheart"; not always in a bad sense, though it frequently seems to indicate the intimacies of wedlock without the accompanying formalities of marriage. In *Measure for Measure*, Lucio says of Claudio, (I, iv, 29) "he hath got his friend with child." It is not Lucio's habit to speak foully of the good women in the play, and Juliet is surely one of these. Claudio thus explains his relations with her (Act I, Scene ii, ll. 155 ff.):

—upon a true contract

I got possession of Julietta's bed.

You know the lady, she is fast my wife,

Save that we do the denunciation lack

Of outward order.

Dr. Furness, who does not appear to have thought of this passage in *Measure for Measure* in this connection, suggests (Preface to the *Variorum Cymbeline*) that Imogen's marriage to Posthumus was a "handfasting." He points out that if Imogen were irrevocably married, the Queen would scarcely try to force Cloten upon her, or Cloten woo her, and that when he does so, Imogen never appeals to "the insuperable barrier of her marriage." The solution Dr. Furness finds in the Queen's words (I, v, 76). "She says in effect that Pisanio, as long as he lives, will be a witness or a 'remembrancer,' possibly the only witness, to the handfasting between Posthumus and

that even a man in the conventional chivalric attitude of loving hopelessly, as Troilus did Cressida in the beginning, or Palamon and Arcite Emelye, would be as sure of her virtue as the man to whom she had granted her "pity." The reader should also observe the threat of a duel to follow, in case Iachimo cannot prove his assertions against the lady, and the words of Iachimo, referring to Posthumus at the end of the play:

he, true knight,
No lesser of her honor confident
Than I did truly find her, steals this ring.
(Act V, Scene v, 187 ff.)

The suggestion of the wager comes, it will be noted, not from the husband, as in Boccaccio's tale, but from the villain Iachimo. The "true knight" might be loth to be drawn into a quarrel, but when the virtues of his lady were called in question, the code of chivalry gave him no choice in the matter. This may be illustrated by the following passage from the *Morte Darthur*. Launcelot has just come upon Sir Meliagaunce and Sir Lamorak, who are fighting to maintain the superior beauty of their respective ladies.

Imogen. The marriage was not then complete. It was merely a 'trothplight,' and, not having been blest by Holy Church, was not irrevocable,—certainly not if royal influence be brought to bear. . . . That the Handfasting was to her [Imogen] a ceremony as holy as marriage itself is evident by her calling Cloten a 'profane fellow' when he had asserted that her pretended contract with Posthumus was no contract, at least among royalties, as he says, although among the common people a self-figured knot, such as a 'handfast' is, might be deemed an impediment." Cf. the use of the word "fast" in the foregoing quotation from *Measure for Measure*, and the definition cited by the *New English Dictionary* from Jamieson, 1808-1825: "*To handfast*, to betrothe by joining hands, in order to cohabitation [sic], before the celebration of marriage."

Sir, said Meliagaunce, I shall tell you for what cause we do this battle. I praised my lady Queen Guenever, and said she was the fairest lady in the world, and Sir Lamorak said nay thereto, for he said Queen Morgause of Orkney was fairer than she, and more of beauty. Ah! Sir Lamorak [says Launcelot] why sayest thou so? It is not thy part to dispraise thy princess that thou art under her obeisance and we all. And therewith he alight on foot, and said, For this quarrel make thee ready, for I will prove upon thee that queen Guenever is the fairest lady and most of bounty in the world. Sir, said Sir Lamorak, I am loth to have ado with you in this quarrel. For every man thinketh his own lady fairest; and though I praise the lady that I love most, ye should not be wroth. For though my lady Queen Guenever be fairest in your eye, wit ye well Queen Morgause of Orkney is fairest in mine eye, and so every knight thinketh his own lady fairest; and wit ye well, Sir, ye are the man in the world, except Sir Tristram, that I am most lothest to have ado withal. But and ye will needs fight with me, I shall endure you as long as I may.⁵⁵

It is of especial interest to study the wager-scene in the *Roman de la Violette*. Of all the analogues to *Cymbeline*, this is the closest as regards its chivalric setting. Its atmosphere of courtly refinement may be gathered from the songs which the hero Girars sings in praise of his lady.

Quant bele dame et fine amors me prie,
 Encor ferai chançon cointe et jolie,
 Ne jà ne quier qu'envieus mot en die,
 Car onques n'es amai,
 Ne jà les ameraï;
 Et qui les aim, bien sai
 Qu'il fait cruel folie;
 Qu'envieus sont molt plain de félennie.

 Tout ensi son chanter define;
 Mais Amours, ki onques ne fine,
 Le semont qu'il chante encore
 Ceste cançonette à karole:
 J'ai amors fait à mon gré
 Miels en vaudra mæ vie.

To the proud boast of Girars in the presence of the court

⁵⁵ Ed. Strachey, London, 1901; Bk. ix, Chapter xiv.

that he loves a lady of surpassing beauty and is loved in return, Lisiars, "a worse man than Ganelon," retorts that he will wager his lands against those of Girars that the lady is by no means so constant, and that he will prove it within eight days. Girars, in his perfect confidence, accepts the wager immediately. The king attempts to dissuade Lisiars, telling him that he has started on a foolish venture, and that a man who attempts to shame another often finds that his efforts recoil on his own head.³⁶ But Girars scornfully interrupts, and tells the king to let Lisiars have his way; he himself has no fear of the outcome. So the wager is concluded.³⁷

It is noteworthy that the king does not attempt to dissuade the hero from accepting the wager, since he could not in honor refuse to take it up. Instead, the king endeavors to influence the villain Lisiars not to press it. But Girars, the perfect knight and lover, cannot allow any

³⁶ Just the moral which Boccaccio draws from the whole story.

³⁷

Dist li rois: "Lisiars amis,
En fole œuvre vous estes mis
Ki vous vantés d' autrui hounir.
Li maus doit sor vous avenir:
S'iert à bon droit s'il i revient.
Nous véons que souvent avient
Que cil ki velt hounir autrui
Que li maus revertist sour lui.
Certes, si vous m'en créissiés,
Jà ne vous entremesisiés."
"Avoi! Sire, che dist Gérars;
Puisque mesires Lisiars
Velt gagier, por moi ne remaigne.
Ains aroit conquis Alemaigne,
Mien escient, par son escu,
Que de cest plait m'eüst vaincu.
Mais or laissons le ramprosner.
Pleges couvient chacun donner."

(ed. Michel, p. 18.)

suspicion of faithlessness to rest upon his lady, and calls for the immediate binding of the contract. So Philario, the host in *Cymbeline*, while disapproving of the wager made at his house and endeavoring to break off the discussion, never suggests that Posthumus shall reject it.

I suppose that it is hardly necessary to point out that elucidation of *Cymbeline* by reference to mediæval courtly romance is abundantly justified by the survival and revival of chivalric conventions in the days of Elizabeth and James, both in literature and in the life of the court. Chivalry, as a practical rule of life, was moribund in the fourteenth century, yet it was splendidly observed at the court of Edward III, it was ostentatiously practiced during the Wars of the Roses, as for example by Malory's theatrical patron Richard Earl of Warwick, Henry VIII gave it magnificent expression at the Field of the Cloth of Gold, and it experienced a veritable rebirth under Elizabeth. A Virgin Queen enthroned gave new stimulus to elaborate and courtly compliment. From the time of her coronation, when Sir Edward Dimock rode on horseback into the hall, offering to fight any man who should deny Elizabeth to be the lawful sovereign of the realm, down to the days when, aged and wrinkled, she still demanded of her supporters the attentions bestowed by knights upon their lady-loves, chivalric observances ruled the outward manners of the court. Nor was the situation otherwise under James I. His accession was celebrated by a splendid tournament, and the glories of his state were sustained by lavish expenditures on knightly ceremonials. Prince Henry was especially fond of chivalric exercises, and excelled at tilting. As a rule, all this bore small relation to the actual life of the time; just as tilting had no significance for actual warfare as then practiced. Something of the true spirit of chivalry remained, however;

the exaggerations of Raleigh, the magnificence of Essex, were balanced by the true gentleness and courtesy of Sir Philip Sidney.

To note the reflection of all this in literature would be to tell a twice-told tale. If chivalry had lost its force as a social institution, it gained new splendor through its imaginative treatment in letters. Chaucer, Malory, Hawes, Spenser, Sidney were only the leaders of a host of poets and romancers, preserving these traditions from generation to generation. Medieval chivalry is, indeed, nowhere seen to better advantage than in literature, whether in the thirteenth century or the sixteenth; there it had a happier fortune than in the test of actual life, where its ardors often seemed ridiculous and its golden trappings tinsel. Everyone who knows what chivalry means can see its influence in the plays of Shakspeare, yet it is extraordinary how little the plays have been studied against the background of the medieval conventions surviving in the Elizabethan Age. If Shakspeare had occasion to put on the stage the fighting or the love-making of the highly born, he drew the picture in terms of the society with which he was familiar. It did not matter whether the play exhibited the walls of windy Troy, or the castle of Elsinore, or the park of the king of Navarre, or the Britain of Cymbeline, the manners took the shape of those of Elizabeth's court. Sometimes Shakspeare treated chivalric conventions as decoration, sometimes realistically, sometimes with gentle satire. He was particularly fond of contrasting the artificial wooing of the courtier with the divine passion of the lover, even though this might itself borrow the terms of chivalry for its expression. Romeo in love with Rosaline, all sighs and groans for a lady whom he can forget in a breath, is designedly contrasted with the Romeo of passionate whole-hearted devotion to Juliet; the Duke in

Twelfth Night, wooing a lady at long distance, and getting tremendous aesthetic satisfaction out of it, is a foil to Viola, loving with a sincere and unaffected heart; *Troilus and Cressida* offers a bewilderingly complex mixture of human passion and romantic convention; *Love's Labor's Lost* is a delightful burlesque of the various exaggerations of romantic love. We cannot delay over the matter further here. A study of the significance of medieval chivalry for an understanding of Shakspeare's plays, greatly needed as it is, demands extended treatment. Here we can only glance at it in connection with *Cymbeline*.³⁸

As everyone knows, *Cymbeline* was written at a time of renewed interest in romance. After an era of realistic comedy and of tragedy, the English stage experienced, in the latter part of the first decade of the seventeenth century, a great revival of interest in dramatic romance. This fashion appears to have been set by Beaumont and Fletcher, and to have been imitated by the greater dramatist, alert as he ever was for what would please public taste.³⁹ Many critics who have a perfect realization of this either neglect to take it into account in practice, or

³⁸ A suggestive, but not exhaustive treatment of this subject will be found in Professor W. H. Schofield's *Chivalry in English Literature*, Cambridge, Mass., 1912, pp. 183 ff. He calls attention to the tournament in *Pericles*, and particularly the challenge of Hector in *Troilus and Cressida*.

Hector, in view of Trojans and of Greeks,
Shall make it good, or do his best to do it,
He hath a lady, wiser, fairer, truer,
Than ever Greek did compass in his arms.

(Act I, Scene iii, ll. 273 ff.)

Professor Schofield notes the wager in *Cymbeline*, with brief comment, but does not analyze the situation in detail. I hope later to publish a study of the influence of medieval conventions on Shakspeare.

³⁹ See Thorndike, below, p. 424, note 50.

mistake the real nature of this romance. Mr. Arthur Symonds thinks of it as a kind of children's game. "Cymbeline is a romance, made out of Holinshed, and Bocaccio, and perhaps nursery stories, and it is that happiest kind of romance, which strays harmlessly through tragic incidents, in which only the bad people come to grief. All the time things seem to be knotting themselves up inextricably, everyone is playing at cross-purposes with every one, as in a children's game, immensely serious to the children. . . . We are following the track of a romance, and in countries where no one is sick or sorry beyond measure." ⁴⁰ Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch, reminding us to seek the truth of imagination rather than the truth of fact, refers us indiscriminately to *Blue Beard*, *Cinderella*, *Little Red Riding Hood*, the *Faerie Queene*, and *Pilgrim's Progress*.⁴¹

It is of the highest importance to distinguish the two different kinds of "romance" in *Cymbeline*. There is, on the one hand, a strong fairy-tale element in the play; the Guiderius-Arviragus plot has often been compared with the *märchen* of *Little Snow-White and the Dwarfs*. But this idyllic rustic material is in sharp contrast to the main plot. There the romantic conventions are of a very definite sort, as far removed from *Blue Beard* at one end as from *Pilgrim's Progress* at the other. They are the conventions of court life, which may also be studied, mingled with other material, in such plays as *Philaster*, the *Maid's Tragedy*, *Thierry and Theodoret*, conventions which were a survival of the Middle Ages, which had been an outgrowth and an accompaniment of the feudal sys-

⁴⁰ *Works of Shakespeare*, ed. by Sir Sidney Lee, N. Y. and Boston, 1911, Introduction to *Cymbeline*, p. xi.

⁴¹ See above, p. 392, note 3.

tem, and which were, in somewhat altered form, in the height of fashion in Shakspeare's time. They had been modified by Renaissance views of conduct, derived from Italian and classical sources, and by changes in the popular attitude towards moral questions. The Elizabethans were not ready to accept the adulterous love condoned by the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.⁴² But they clung passionately to externals, and their romantic observances were full of the absurdities so characteristic of the Middle Ages.

So the wager in *Cymbeline*, in its fantastic exaggeration of confidence in Imogen's virtue, is at once thoroughly medieval and thoroughly Elizabethan. This old theme, hallowed by centuries of story-telling, happened to fit to a nicety, through its very extravagances, the spirit of sixteenth-century chivalry. At just about the time the play was written, Cervantes was satirizing excesses of this sort, in making Don Quixote place himself on the high-road, and stop the merchants of Toledo, unless they would acknowledge that there was not in the whole world a more beautiful damsel than Dulcinea del Toboso. Consider the ridiculous antics of Elizabeth's courtiers to express the havoc made by her charms upon their hearts. A favorite trick of Essex was to imitate the love-lorn medieval knight, and take to his bed, refusing all comfort, when the favor of his lady was withdrawn from him. Amusing, too, is Raleigh's attempt to drown himself, so great were "the horrors of Tantalus" which he endured when deprived of the sunshine of the royal presence. The disease spread even beyond the limits of the court. A little London tailor,

⁴² For a discussion of the chivalric elements in Shakspeare's *Troilus and Cressida*, see an article by the present writer in *Shaksperian Studies*, N. Y., (Columbia University Press) 1916.

fancying himself in love with Elizabeth, "whined himself to death" for her sake, and was doubtfully immortalized in verse by Lord Charles Cavendish.⁴³ Shakspeare has his fling at these absurdities again and again; we may even see a reflection of them in *Hamlet*, when Laertes is challenged to the most extravagant of feats to show his devotion to Ophelia,—to drink vinegar or eat a crocodile. As Taine puts it, "like the tars who tattoo a heart on their arms to prove their love for the girls they left behind them, you find men who 'devoured sulphur and drank urine' to win their mistress by a proof of affection."⁴⁴

Professor J. L. Lowes, in a remarkably suggestive essay, has pointed out that the treatment of melancholy and madness in Chaucer and Shakspeare can best be understood by a study of medieval medical doctrines.⁴⁵ So it is with Shakspeare's love-making and social usages; it is fruitless to analyze these from the modern point of view, they must be recognized for what they are: belated and altered conventions of medievalism. Mr. Henry Osborn Taylor sums up the matter admirably: "The Middle Ages helped antiquity to shape the faculties and furnish the tastes of the sixteenth century. These faculties and tastes were then applied to what the past seemed also to offer as from a distinct and separate platform. Only by realizing the action of these formative and contributive agencies, shall we perceive this period's true relationships, and appreciate its caused and causal being, begotten of the

⁴³ See, for episodes of this sort, Strickland, *Queens of England*, London, 1854, vol. iv, pp. 663-4; 587; 721.

⁴⁴ *History of English Literature*, N. Y., 1871, vol. i, p. 227. I can not verify the jumbled reference to Middleton with which he supports this.

⁴⁵ "The Loveres Maladye of Hereos," *Modern Philology*, vol. xi, pp. 491-546; esp. 544 ff. Cf. E. E. Stoll, *ibid.*, vol. iii, pp. 281-303.

past, yet vital (as each period is) with its own spirit, and big with a modernity which was not yet." ⁴⁶

Regarded from the point of view of medieval chivalric observance, then, the making of the wager assumes a new significance. Posthumus Leonatus emerges fully vindicated; his is the only conduct possible for the perfect lover and the perfect knight. But what of his later procedure? This is quite another matter, demanding separate consideration.

IV

After the very brilliant and carefully elaborated scenes in Acts I and II, which are beyond doubt Shakspeare's own work,—the parting of Posthumus and Imogen, the making of the wager, the interview between Imogen and Iachimo, the brief but beautifully managed episode in the bedchamber, the triumph of Iachimo over Posthumus, and the agonized soliloquy of Posthumus, in which he suspects the virtue of all women—we do not see Posthumus again until Act V. Letters from him are read, one bidding with feigned affection that Imogen meet him at Milford-Haven, and another commanding Pisanio to poison her. At the opening of Act V, it appears from his soliloquy over the bloody handkerchief that the rage of Posthumus and his desire for vengeance are quite over; he repents his command and the faithfulness of Pisanio in having, as he supposes, executed it, ending with lines of a banality that certainly make us suspect an interpolator or collaborator. The scenes on the field of battle and in the prison contain occasional evidences of his repentance, but add nothing new for his relations with Imogen, while they have often been suspected of being from another hand than Shak-

⁴⁶ *Thought and Expression in the Sixteenth Century*, N. Y., 1920 (Preface). Through Mr. Taylor's kindness, I am able to quote this from the proof-sheets.

spere's, especially the scene in the prison. The business in Cymbeline's tent in Act V is curiously managed: after the confession of Iachimo, Posthumus, with a fresh outbreak of repentance, strikes the disguised Imogen, who swoons, and upon reviving "begins an unseemly squabble with Pisanio. . . . Then poor old doddering Cornelius must needs be brought forward, and must tell again in prosy words what he has told us all once before, even to the very same reference to 'cats and dogs'! All this while poor Posthumus has nothing to do but to shift first on one foot and then on the other."⁴⁷—But most remarkable of all, I think, is the final reunion of Imogen and Posthumus. After all that has gone before, we certainly expect that the terrible misunderstanding which brings death so near for the lovers, the main-spring of the whole play, will be ended with appropriate dignity. Instead, all that the scene has to offer is this:

Imogen. Why did you throw your wedded lady from you?
 Think that you are upon a rock,⁴⁸ and now
 Throw me again. [Embracing him.]

Posthumus. Hang there like fruit, my soul,
 Till the tree die!

—a mixture of wrestling, horticulture and banality which could hardly be surpassed.⁴⁹

In short, then, the development of the main plot in the last three acts is most unsatisfactory, giving the impression of hasty and careless workmanship, as if the dramatist had lost his interest. Perhaps a collaborator was allowed too large a share here, but we must be chary of assuming that scenes were not written by Shakspeare because they seem

⁴⁷ *Variorum Cymbeline*, Introduction, pp. xiv-xv.

⁴⁸ Probably *lock*, as in wrestling, see Dowden, *loc. cit.*, p. 212.

⁴⁹ Perhaps not everyone will agree; Charles Cowden-Clarke thought this reunion "perfectly divine."

to fall far below his usual level. There is no doubt that he did, at times, hurried and very inferior work. It seems clear, in any case, that what interested him most was the earlier part of the tale; for the punishment which Posthumus attempts to inflict upon Imogen and the final reconciliation he felt little enthusiasm. One remembers Chaucer's treatment of the *Troilus*; when once Criseyde has left Troy, the poet's interest seems to flag, and the story hurries to its end.

The reason for all this is not far to seek. The really picturesque and individual part of the main plot is the making of the wager and its immediate outcome; the rest is a mosaic of the commonplaces of romance. Shakspeare's creative imagination was obviously stimulated by the psychological problem involved in the wager. A devoted husband, forced by knightly conventions into a novel and dangerous situation; a scheming villain, nevertheless clear-sighted enough to admire the purity of the wife and the nobility of the husband, and a heroine of stainless virtue and surpassing charm, made to appear guilty through a cruel and unusual combination of circumstances,—all this gave an opportunity for new situations and contrasts of character. But the ending of the story was a collocation of commonplace situations and motives, given individuality only by the superposition of the Guiderius-Arviragus plot. Shakspeare's poetic fancy was happily allowed full play in the lovely woodland scenes; the attention of the spectator is diverted to this attractive material, and the play is saved.

We have said that the latter part of the main plot is a "mosaic of the commonplaces of romance." Professor Thorndike, in a brilliant essay,⁵⁰ has shown in detail

⁵⁰ *The Influence of Beaumont and Fletcher on Shakspeare*, Worcester, Mass., 1901.

the close parallelism between *Cymbeline* and the romances of Beaumont and Fletcher, particularly *Philaster*, which he believes influenced it. There is no need to repeat his analysis here. Of Imogen he says, "She is good and chaste and spirited; she resists an attempt at seduction; she wears boy's clothes; she leaves the court in search of her lover; she remains true to him after he has deserted her, and sought to kill her; she dies and is brought back to life again; she passes through all sorts of impossible situations to final reconciliation and happiness. In all this there is little trace of an individual character; *all this can be duplicated in the stories of Bellario and Arethusa.*"⁵¹ Similarly, the conduct of Posthumus recalls that of Philaster; compare the jealous letter of Posthumus (III, iv, 20) with the jealousy of Philaster upbraiding Arethusa (III, ii); the soliloquy of Posthumus denouncing women with that of Philaster (III, ii); even the wounding of Arethusa by Philaster (iv, iii) reappears in the striking of Imogen by Posthumus (v, v, 228).⁵²

The critics have been very severe on Posthumus for his ready belief in the guilt of Imogen, which indeed seems to anticipate Iachimo's full revelations, for his resolve to murder her, the cruelty with which he pursues this resolve, and finally for his sudden repentance, which is held to denote a fatal weakness of character. Yet we do not have to go beyond Shakspeare's own plays to see that these are conventions of romantic drama. The psychology and ethics of Shakspearean heroes are as much at variance with reality as are the curious legal systems in force in the countries where romantic events take place, the absurdities of which have often been noted. Consider how belief

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 139. Italics mine.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 153.

in the guilt of Hero is shared by all the good people in *Much Ado*, save Beatrice and (perhaps) Benedick, yet how slender the grounds for that belief really are; how the violent jealousy of Leontes breaks out against his devoted wife and old play-fellow, with practically no foundation at all; and how suddenly, almost ludicrously, repentance for past acts comes to Proteus, Claudio, Angelo, Oliver, Bertram, and the Usurping Duke in *As You Like It*.⁵³ That Imogen must be put to death for her supposed unchastity is the only course possible for the romantic hero. It was a very old and widespread idea among the Indo-European peoples that the unchaste woman must pay for her frailty with her life, and that this is at the disposal of the husband whom she has wronged or the kinsfolk whom she has disgraced;⁵⁴ and this idea survived as a convention of the romantic drama down to the beginning of the seventeenth century, when a more humanitarian note was struck in *A Woman Killed With Kindness*. Instances of it are too common to need lengthy citation. Death, under such circumstances, was not viewed as revenge, but as just punishment, inflicted by private rather than public authority. Melantius, the brother of Evadne, the mistress of the king in the *Maid's Tragedy*, sums up the matter thus:

Evadne: You will not murder me?

Melantius: No; 'tis a justice, and a noble one,
 To put the light out of such base offenders.

(Act IV, Scene i.)

⁵³ See comments by M. J. Wolff, in review of Schücking: *Die Charakterprobleme bei Shakespeare*, Leipzig, 1919, in *Englische Studien*, vol. 54, p. 169. I regret not to have been able to secure a copy of Schücking's volume.

⁵⁴ Cf. S. Rietschl, *Reallexicon der germanischen Altertumskunde*, Strassburg, 1913, sub *Ehebruch*.

Moreover, cruelty in inflicting the punishment, and in dealing with the guilty woman in general, was held to be only what she deserved. Our forefathers believed that to treat the sinner with consideration was to compound with sin. The erring wife or sister, like other criminals, laid herself open not only to chastisement, but to severity and insult. Othello, once convinced of the guilt of Desdemona, not only never hesitates in what he considers his duty,—to kill her, but he strikes and insults her, on one occasion using such language that even the loose-tongued Emilia is revolted, and exclaims, “a beggar in his drink could not have laid such terms upon his callat.” The cruelty of Leontes, in word and deed, needs only to be mentioned. A part of this, in his case as in Othello’s, must of course be laid to the operation of jealousy upon a highly passionate nature, but it is in part also the reflection of the Elizabethan tradition that brutality in the treatment of sin is justified. Parallels to the resolve of Posthumus that Imogen must die, and the means taken to put this resolve into effect, may be studied at the reader’s leisure in the analogues to *Cymbeline*.⁵⁵

What, then, are we to say of the character of Posthumus

⁵⁵ Boccaccio arranges the matter thus: “. . . on the ensuing day Ambrogiuolo was paid in full, and Bernabo, departing Paris, betook himself to Genoa with fell intent against the lady. When he drew near the city, he would not enter therein, but lighted down a good score of miles away at a country house of his and despatched one of his servants, in whom he much trusted, to Genoa with two horses and letters under his hand, advising his wife that he had returned and bidding her come to him; and he privily charged the man, when as he should be with the lady in such place as should seem best to him, to put her to death without pity and return to him.” In the *Roman de la Violette*, the hero tries to kill the heroine in a wood, but is prevented by the appearance of an enormous serpent; the warning cry of his wife saves his life, and he cannot bring himself to kill her. In the *Count of Poitiers*, the serpent is replaced by a lion. In *Florus and Jehane*, with its religious coloring and rather

as a whole? If we are to sum it up in a word, I think we must agree that he is meant to be a blameless hero. He is fully justified in the wager-business, and his subsequent procedure is entirely in accord with the ethics of romance. Moreover, Shakspeare himself tells us, in no uncertain terms, that Posthumus is a good man. In the opening scene of the play, the "First Gentleman," that very well-informed person who tells the "Second Gentleman" all about the situation at court, reports Posthumus as

most prais'd, most lov'd;
 A sample to the youngest, to the more mature
 A glass that feated them, and to the graver
 A child that guided dotards; to his mistress,
 For whom he now is banish'd, her own price
 Proclaims how she esteem'd him and his virtue;
 By her election may be truly read
 What kind of man he is.

Every audience knows that such a faithful expositor is not misleading them, but giving such information that they may understand the rest of the play intelligently. Very significant, too, is the way in which people in the play generally, even the villain Iachimo, speak well of Imogen's husband.

Yet, if all this is true, why do we feel so little sympathy with Posthumus? Why have critics almost unanimously treated him with scorn? Why does his suffering leave us cold, and his marriage with Imogen fail to suggesting the mating of the eagle?

namby-pamby hero, the killing is omitted. In the *Miracle*, the hero says he would put the heroine to a shameful death if he could,

et certes, se la puis tenir
 a honte la feray mourir.

(Monmerqué et Michel, p. 460.)

In the work of the so-called "Anonymous" Italian novella-writer, the husband sends his wife to a country estate, and charges a servant to drown her. (Ohle, p. 35.)

In answering these questions, several points must be kept in mind. In the first place, a hero according to a formula, whose acts are "a mosaic of the commonplaces of romance," is not likely to be consistent or convincing.⁵⁶ Very great brilliancy of characterization may accomplish this; a hero may be given so many little touches of individuality and naturalness that we forget the absurdity and inconsistency of his acts. It is one of the greatest of Shakspeare's marks of genius that he could do this when he liked. Old stories full of the wildest improbabilities were thus, by his magic touch, completely transformed, and made to seem psychologically sound. Out of the old motives of the Choosing of the Caskets and the Pound of Flesh he created Portia and Shylock; out of the fairy-tale of the King and his Three Daughters Lear and Cordelia, out of the archaic marriage-taboo theme in *All's Well* the beautiful figure of Helena. But at times he was too careless or too indifferent to give even very important characters this final and transforming touch. He did it for Imogen,⁵⁷ but not for Posthumus. The noble scion of the

⁵⁶ Thorndike shows that Beaumont and Fletcher, in their dramatic romances, "sacrificed atmosphere, characterization, and verisimilitude in their eagerness to secure theatrical effectiveness. . . . When the situations are made of chief importance, there can be no shading in characterization. All the people must be indubitably bad or indubitably good. . . . [Philaster] is at different moments an irresolute prince, a fervent lover, a jealous madman, and a coward who cannot fight; he is never a real individual."

Of the Shakspearean dramatic romances, produced, as Thorndike believes, under the influence of Beaumont and Fletcher, he says, "In characterization, no less than in plots, the romances show a marked difference from Shakspeare's other plays. The characters show, above all, a surprising loss of individuality. They are less consistent, less subtly drawn, less plausibly human; they are more the creatures of stage situations. Their salient characteristics are exaggerated and emphasized by descriptions placed in the mouths of other persons." (Cf. pp. 114-137.)

⁵⁷ Thorndike maintains that "in comparison with the women in

Leonati remains a lay-figure, with all the appropriate gestures, but never instinct with the breath of life.

In the second place, modern readers and playgoers do not find the acts and expressions of Posthumus heroic. They do not share the peculiar view of chivalric obligation which sways him in the wager-scene, and they do not believe that virtue which flies in the face of common-sense remains virtue. They have learned a more humane tradition for the punishment of the woman taken in adultery. And they demand in a hero more consistency, more use of his wits, more emotional restraint. The ravings of Posthumus, his rapid fluctuations of purpose, disgust Anglo-Saxons of today, bred to repress their deepest feelings. Moreover, Posthumus has to bear all the heavier burden of reprobation because the misfortunes of Imogen are due to his errors. Every reader of the play loves this radiant and spirited girl; what more natural than to dislike the husband who makes her suffer? "Womanish tears" and "wild acts" ⁵⁸ may be pardoned in Romeo, who sacrifices everything for Juliet, but not in Posthumus, who makes Imogen herself the sacrifice. It will probably make little difference to remind people that Posthumus has justification for his course of action; they will continue to think just as meanly of him. Perhaps they are right. We are all familiar with the way in which "good" persons in real

the early sentimental comedies, Rosalind, Beatrice, Portia and Viola, she lacks the details of characterization, the mannerisms which remind us of real persons, and suggest the possibility of portraiture. In comparison with these heroines, an analysis of Imogen's character fails to supply really individual traits; one is thrown back on a general statement of her perfectibility." It seems to me that this hardly does Imogen justice. The question is, however, a difficult one to settle; the evidence is for the most part intangible, depending upon the subjective impressions of the critic.

⁵⁸ Cf. *Romeo and Juliet*, Act III, Scene iii, l. 109.

life, with virtue on their side, and a valid reason for every act, can make the innocent suffer. We wish that Posthumus had thought more of Imogen and less of social conventions. We wish, in short, that he were a man with modern notions, instead of an Elizabethan with medieval ideals still dogging him. But we must remember that the judgments which we pass on him today are probably harsher than those of the men who beheld his figure on the stage under the grey and shifting skies of London three hundred years ago.

We began this discussion with Dr. Johnson's famous criticism of *Cymbeline*; what shall we say of it in closing? Our study has revealed at once its truth and its falseness, or, let us say, the falseness of more specific criticisms to the same effect. We have seen that much in the play which seems absurd and improbable today becomes, in the light of Elizabethan ethics and social conventions, natural and reasonable. But nothing can save the play as a whole from the reproach of "much incongruity." This is, however, confined almost wholly to the last three acts; to the end of the second act *Cymbeline* is a play to be taken seriously, as plausible as *Othello*. Then it goes to pieces, as far as naturalness is concerned, and becomes a kind of—dare we say it?—variety-show, in its multitude of dramatic situations, many of them wildly improbable, mingled with a procession of ghosts, the stage trick of Jupiter, the eagle, the thunderbolt, political prophecy, and so forth. "The impossibility of the events in any system of life" must be granted immediately. But how far we can afford to chide Shakspeare when he pours out the whole cornucopia of stage-tricks before us, in this reckless and prodigal fashion, and accuse him of "unresisting imbecility," is a question which shall be left to others to decide.

XX.—THE NOVELTY OF WORDSWORTH'S
MICHAEL AS A PASTORAL

Scarce ane has tried the shepherd-sang
But wi' miscarriage.

Burns's *Poem on Pastoral Poetry*.

I

Wordsworth saw common things with "unaccustomed eyes." When he gazed upon the landscape about him or when he observed the life of people in humble station, he found many a feature which his predecessors had overlooked or neglected. Nature, he perceived, had been ignored or superficially regarded. Yet Nature, to his mind, deserved the best efforts at interpretation. Similarly, country folk of low degree he found had hearts as sensitive as those of people in high places, and accordingly he undertook to proclaim the truth to the world. He wished to enforce his own doctrine: "Of genius the only proof is, the act of doing well what is worthy to be done, and what was never done before: of genius, in the fine arts, the only infallible sign is the widening the sphere of human sensibility for the delight, honour, and benefit of human nature!"¹

The value of Wordsworth's *Michael*² as an example of the poet's method and purpose has not been, I believe, sufficiently appreciated. Few of us are likely to have real-

¹ "Essay, Supplementary to the Preface of 1815," *The Complete Poetical Works of William Wordsworth*, ed. A. George, Cambridge, Mass., 1904, p. 815.

² *The Poetical Works of William Wordsworth*, ed. Wm. Knight, Edinburgh, 1882, II, pp. 125 ff.

ized its novelty when it was first published in 1800. The aim of the present paper is to see how far it exhibits characteristics that were new in the history of pastoral as a form which deals with shepherds.

Michael is a true pastoral. By life-long care of sheep on English hills, an old man Michael had acquired a fair property to leave to his son Luke. Through misfortune, however, he signed a friend's note, and had to meet the responsibility of payment, thereby losing the fruits of his work. Hence he had sent the lad to a relative who would help him to rise in the world. Meanwhile, the peaceful and comfortable home was sadly altered. The intimacy of father and son ceased. Still for a time Michael received glad news and viewed fortune favorably. Then he heard less and less often from Luke, and at last learned that his son had fled in disgrace beyond the seas. Thereafter, the old shepherd was frequently found by his acquaintances sitting idle near a sheepfold that he had begun to build with Luke's assistance long before.

Outlined thus, the poem does not appear novel to-day. In 1800, nevertheless, it was novel, in accordance with Wordsworth's purpose in poetry. No pastoral quite like it in method and in aim had been written previously. To perceive how new it was when it was first brought out, we must review the earlier history of pastoral and compare *Michael* with its precursors. In so doing, we approach the composition of the poem from almost the same standpoint as that of Wordsworth himself, because his interest in finding fresh material led him to an extended study of former poets. With respect to pastoral, he determined two items of special interest to him. First, the form had been associated with the treatment of both nature and the life of simple folk. Yet, secondly, it had been often injured by conventionalism and lack of originality, the very faults

that he desired keenly to combat and to eliminate from poetry.

II

In considering the history of pastoral, Wordsworth went back to Theocritus.³ We know little of what came before Theocritus in this sort of literature, and we know nearly as little about his precise method. His general tone is Alexandrine, that is, it is distinguished more by subtle refinement of form than by originality of thought. The *Idyls* exhibit the urbanity which would fit the style of a brilliant gentleman of the time. The poet did not wish to exchange his life for that of a shepherd, or to live with herdsmen. For him they were simply good acquaintances for a city man who was interested in the foibles of country people, who felt the charm of some of their activities, and who liked to spend a day rambling among the hills. Their songs he deemed adaptable to literary presentation. In truth, he was an educated gentleman, a student of letters, who discerned the merit of Sicilian folk-songs much as did those English gentlemen, Sidney and Addison, the special beauty of *Chevy Chase*. Conceiving the value of the popular efforts, he at once made use of them, no doubt weaving in fancies of his own, and refining the whole in

³ *Bucolici Graeci*, Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Oxonii, 1905. Professor L. N. Broughton of Cornell University has had in press a monograph which may consider the exact extent of Wordsworth's use of Theocritus. See *The Prelude*, Knight, III, bk. VIII, ll. 111 ff.; cf. the same, XI, ll. 424 ff.; "the Preface to the Edition of 1815," George, pp. 801 ff., and "Essay Supplem.," work cited, pp. 809 ff. From the pastoral I exclude at present songs like Henryson's *Robine and Makyne* and the Elizabethan lyrics; elegies like those by Bion, Moschus, Milton, and Burns; dramas like those of Politian, Tasso, Guarini, Fletcher, and Ramsay; romances like those of Longus, San-nazzaro, Sidney, and Gessner; village idyls like *The Deserted Village* and *Hermann und Dorothea*.

order to please the courtly taste of his contemporaries. The result was a group of pastoral idyls simple and pretty enough to delight readers ever since.

Theocritus was too excellent a judge not to preserve the simplicity of the original songs. But he concealed his method of adaptation so skilfully that modern imitators have erred in almost every instance. Perhaps ignorance of the Italian and the Sicilian landscape and people have further prevented success. Though Spenser and Pope sought to be simple and Gay to be realistic, they all failed because they did not thoroughly understand the origin of the *Idyls*.

But of such an error we need not accuse Virgil.⁴ To the Latin poet, shepherdry was a charming pursuit to occupy a young man's day-dreams, or at times a picturesque disguise for panegyric or allegory. The former mood arises most naturally when an author is stirred by feelings that, more or less vague but agreeable, recall sensations evoked by literary models and masters of whom he is fond. This temper, which was to be exceedingly fruitful of pastorals in a later period, found adequate outlet in Virgil's *Eclogues*. And since the shepherds were the same and the Greek and Roman reading-publics were closely related, the Latin idyl based on Theocritus was fitting, and offered no serious incongruity. Perhaps the chief novelty lay in the addition of veiled political and social references.

From the survey of classical pastoral, we perceive something artificial in its composition. The poet is aroused by sentiment, not by passion. Even if the poetry lacks the power of the greatest poetry, it is for the most part genu-

⁴*The Works of Virgil*, J. Conington and H. Nettleship, London, 1898, I.

ine, and properly inspired imitation, not only in the Renaissance of Charlemagne but from the time of the so-called revival of learning, whereby pastoral eclogues eventually appeared in Latin, French, Spanish, Italian, German, and English.

Unfortunately the machinery of paganism and other conventions of classical pastoral remained in the English imitations. Such defects marred the remarkable efforts of Spenser.⁵ He did not attain the elegant simplicity of Theocritus. As an idealist and a personality who stood aloof⁶ from the affairs of men in humble existence, he did not thoroughly appreciate the difference between Sicilian and English shepherds. He did not understand—perhaps he did not care to do so—how far the Greek had been an adaptor. Names like “Cuddie” could not give his eclogue a Doric sound. The best passages are not in strict keeping with pastoral, in that no shepherd would have felt, much less expressed, what Spenser uttered through the songs of Colin. Though much in the *Calender* is of high order, it in general diverges from classic pastoral or from any true pastoral. The type, however, since it is plainly a product of the older type, may conveniently be denominated neo-pastoral.

Neo-pastoral, not pseudo-pastoral, because it possessed in Spenser's hands not only poetic form, but poetic frenzy.

⁵ *The Shepheardes Calender*, ed. C. H. Herford, London, 1914. French and Italian influences affected Spenser. The references to Scripture, *S. C.* (date 1579), v, vii, need not detain our inquiry; or the earlier references by Barnabe Googe in *Eclogs, etc.*, ed. E. Arber, London, 1895, (date 1561-3), iii, p. 42; iv, pp. 43 ff.; vii, pp. 65 ff.; or those by A. Barclay (ca. 1513) in his combination of paraphrase and originality based on Mantuan, Spenser Society, vol. 39, Manchester, 1885. Early English pastoral was not averse to abstractions personified, such as occur in the *Roman de la Rose*.

⁶ His aloofness did not exclude interest in national politics.

But, with the continuance of the species, inspiration grew less important, less noticeable, in William Browne,⁷ pretty as his descriptions are, and least in Pope.⁸ Pseudo-pastoral emerged in company with pseudo-classicism. In pastoral, the nobility of the ancients had disappeared; true decorum had altered to dry, deadening formalism.⁹ Still the classical machinery remained—the chief sign of the genre. Pope, far from the simplicity of Theocritus, was equally removed from Spenser, closely though he professed to follow him in his pretentious youthful effort. Wordsworth has criticised Pope's eclogues and summarised the later development for us. He wrote of Pope:

Having wandered from humanity in his Eclogues with boyish inexperience, the praise which these compositions obtained tempted him into a belief that Nature was not to be trusted, at least in pastoral Poetry. To prove this by example, he put his friend Gay¹⁰ upon writing those Eclogues, which the author intended to be burlesques. . . . Nevertheless, though these poems contain some detestable passages, the effect, as Dr. Johnson well observes, "of reality and truth became conspicuous, even when the intention was to show them grovelling and degraded." The Pastorals, ludicrous to such as prided themselves upon their refinement, in spite of those disgusting passages, "became popular and were read with delight, as just representations of rural manners and occupations."¹¹

Gay, in his preface to *The Shepherd's Week*, signified his scorn for present pastorals and declared his intention

⁷ *Poems of William Browne*, ed. G. Goodwin, 2 vols., London, 1894.

⁸ *Works*, ed. Elwin, Whitwell, and Courthope, London, 1871, I, pp. 257 ff. His *Messiah*, vol. I, pp. 309 ff., based on Virgil, IV, and *Isaiah*, does not affect our study. A. Philips's *Pastorals*, Chalmers's *Poets*, London, 1810, vol. XIII, pp. 109 ff., offer nothing novel for our consideration.

⁹ It may be noted that the contemporary writers had become dissatisfied with the state into which pastoral had fallen, or otherwise they would not have encouraged Gay.

¹⁰ *Poetical Works*, ed. J. Underhill, London, 1893, I, pp. 265 ff.

¹¹ *Essay Supplem.*, work cited, p. 811.

to return to the simplicity of Theocritus.¹² In fact, his eclogues were simple, but not as the master's had been, because in most respects they were not poetical, and on the whole their value was that of parody and of satire on vulgarity in the country. They were neither fair nor deep; like their immediate predecessors, even if in a different way, they were superficial. Though truer to genuine English shepherdry than previous English pastoral had been, Gay's work told not the complete or the higher truth.¹³

After the Pope-Philips controversy in which Gay tried to strike an annihilating blow, there developed two reactionary tendencies that have been remarked:¹⁴ a simpler and more genuine appreciation of nature emerged in writings like those of Shenstone¹⁵ and Goldsmith, as well as Thomson;¹⁶ and in poems like Collins's *Oriental Eclogues*¹⁷ there appeared didactic moralism and a humanitarian outlook. For previous expressions of the same kind, if not in the same guise, one may look back merely to the Elizabethan pastoral, though the field for moralism was extended by humanitarian ideas in the eighteenth century. Again characteristic of the time was the "town

¹² Work cited, I, pp. 65 ff.

¹³ They lacked the sympathy of Goldsmith's *The Deserted Village*, an idyl of village, not pastoral life. Considerable realism marks Allan Ramsay's pleasant pastoral drama, *The Gentle Shepherd*, (date 1725). One may compare incidentally for the effect of epic idyl, Goethe's *Hermann und Dorothea* and Longfellow's *Evangeline*.

¹⁴ H. E. Mantz, *Non-Dramatic Pastoral in Europe in the Eighteenth Century*, *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, xxxi, pp. 421 ff. His conclusion as to the end of English pastoral, it will be obvious from the present paper, is too sweeping.

¹⁵ *Poetical Works of William Shenstone*, ed. G. Gilfillan, Edinburgh, 1854, pp. 99, 149 ff.

¹⁶ *Poetical Works of James Thomson*, ed. D. C. Tovey, London, 1897, I.

¹⁷ *Poetical Works of William Collins*, ed. W. M. Thomas, London, 1906, pp. 3 ff.

eclogue," which was essayed by Swift,¹⁸ Gay,¹⁹ Charles Jenner,²⁰ and others, and which reflected either contempt for rural pastoral or an absorption of interest in city life.²¹

None of these types, however, led to a crisis in the history of English eclogue, even if they were sympathetic of an illness. The coarse aspect of country manners, which Gay had emphasized, prevented unpenetrating observers of mankind from doing what Wordsworth was to do in *Michael*. Such coarseness seemed unsuited to the English muse, and accordingly would-be Sicilian shepherds continued to spread their rococo mantles and to pipe songs on English hills.

Thus the conventions and assumptions narrowed the scope and the originality of English endeavor in pastoral, till Wordsworth, seeking something new that deserved expression, sympathized with actual rural existence and identified the ideal English shepherd. To be sure, village life had recently been given realistic treatment in Crabbe's *The Village*²² (1783), and genuine sympathy in Cowper's *The Task* (1785).²³ The former poet, more pessimistic than Wordsworth, dwelt upon the sordid and pitiable in rural scenery and incident, yet exhibited no strong sense of compassion. Likewise, in comparison with Wordsworth's accomplishments, Cowper's more optimistic approach to country life was limited in range. Moreover, little material in Crabbe or Cowper was strictly pas-

¹⁸ *Poetical Works of Jonathan Swift*, ed. J. Mitford, London, 1902, I, pp. 99, 191.

¹⁹ Ed. cited, vol. I.

²⁰ London, 1772.

²¹ For further instances of various types of eclogue, one may consult R. T. Kerlin, *Theocritus in English Literature*, Lynchburg, 1910.

²² Ed. A. J. Carlyle and R. M. Carlyle, London, 1908, pp. 34 ff.

²³ Ed. J. Bruce, London, 1896, vol. II, pp. 3 ff.

toral. By method and temper, therefore, these poets aided Wordsworth in defining a true English shepherd.²⁴

III

Wordsworth wished neither to be a dull imitator nor to portray deeds of violence. When he composed *Michael*, he departed from two conspicuous conventions of the type. He did not treat a love affair and did not retain the contest of shepherds about love, about town and country, or about skill in music. By dismissing these themes, he could the better deal with pastoral in accordance with his general theories of poetry. Nothing in *Michael* need be artificial, void of earnestness. At the same time, the poet made no effort to produce a sensational effect. As he wrote in the Preface to the Lyrical Ballads, 1800, "the feeling . . . developed gives importance to the action and situation, and not the action and situation to feeling."²⁵ Thus he could confine himself to his real shepherd. Therefore it becomes our purpose now to view the novelty of his pastoral not by what he negatively avoided, but by what he positively put into it.

Wordsworth's shepherd was true to life; he was also ideal so far as Michael was one of the better country folk. His type still exists. To-day one may find in America or

²⁴ Scotch poetry like Burns's also made for naturalness. Cf. further the realistic pastorals of Voss and other German poets of the eighteenth century, E. C. Knowlton, *Pastoral in the Eighteenth Century*, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, xxxii, 471 ff. Wordsworth in the looser sense of the word wrote pastorals for 1800: ed. cited, iii, pp. 106 ff., *The Brothers*; pp. 149 ff., *The Pet Lamb*; pp. 145 ff., *The Idle Shepherd-boys*. His *The Oak and the Broom*, pp. 172 ff., is an Aesopian pastoral, as is *The Oak and the Brier*, Spenser's *S. C.* II; cf. *S. C.* v. Southey's *English Eclogues* should be noted (1798 on), *The Poetical Works of Robert Southey*, Boston, 1878, vol. II, pp. 5-55.

²⁵ Ed. cited, p. 791.

England numerous rural homes where the occupants have a true domesticity, Christian uprightness, and deep sentiment. Many of us have experienced the equivalent of reaching, weary and hungry, a farmhouse

when all
Turned to the supper-board, and then
Each with a mess of pottage and skimmed milk,
Sat round the basket piled with oaten cake,
And their plain, home-made cheese,—

where father and son both betook themselves afterward

To such convenient work as might employ
Their hands by the fireside; perhaps to card
Wool for the House-wife's spindle, or repair
Some injury done to sickle, flail, or scythe,
Or other implement of house or field.

(ll. 98-109.)

Thus as we read the poem, we can feel how happy are the touches that enforce sympathy with the dominant mood, and accord with common life:

Down from the ceiling, by the chimney's edge,
That in our ancient, uncouth country style,
With large and black projection overbrowed
Large space beneath, as duly as the light
Of day grew dim the Housewife hung a lamp.

(ll. 110-114.)²²

With careful precision and acute judgment the very details are chosen that reveal rapidly and vividly the appearance of the simple home and the conduct of life therein. No burlesque is intended, as Michael when new plans for Luke must be made, observed anxiously how the mother

²² Like Flemish chiaroscuro. The black and white of the description in contrasting with each other are more in harmony with the subdued contrasts of action and character than would be the pomp of color. One may compare the painting of a kitchen attributed to Velasquez and preserved at the chateau of Villandry near Tours.

... Isabel sat silent, for her mind
Was busy, looking back into past time.

(ll. 256-7.)

As other mothers would have done, she thought of Richard Bateman, a parish-boy, and of his success in the world beyond the hills.

These thoughts, and many others of like sort
Passed quickly through the mind of Isabel,
And her face brightened. The old Man was glad.

(ll. 271-273.)

Briefly the intimacy of the household and the constant consideration for the other members are indicated in these little homely details. The manners of many country folk yield not in gentleness to those of the highly educated or the most aristocratically cultivated. Bearing of mind and heart could nowhere be more genuinely admirable or worthy of emulation. Other indications of sincerity and kindness of human association, appear in the account of five-year old Luke, for whom is exhibited paternal affection.

Then Michael from a winter coppice cut
With his own hand, a sapling, which he hooped
With iron, making it throughout in all
Due requisites a perfect shepherd's staff
And gave it to the Boy; wherewith equipt
He as a watchman oftentimes was placed
At gate or gap, to stem or turn the flock; ...
There stood the urchin as you will divine,
Something between a hindrance and a help.

(ll. 180-189.)

Such simplicity is like that of the Bible, a respect wherein the poem resembles no previous pastoral in Greek, Latin, or English. Though detail is abundant, and is of common matters too, there is no descent in dignity, but rather, an elevation with which harmonizes the solemn blank verse. In fact, from the moral earnestness and delicate naturalness of *Michael*, one might be reading a story companion

to those of Ruth, Joseph, or especially, Abraham and Isaac. The phraseology is nearly Scriptural.²⁷ The sentiments aroused are elemental pity, sympathy, admiration, and indeed affection. We gain the tonic effect of proper realism. Original with the heart of man are the feelings of the old shepherd when he exclaimed to his wife,

I have been toiling more than seventy years,
And in the open sunshine of God's love
Have we all lived; yet if these fields of ours
Should pass into a stranger's hand, I think
That I could not lie quiet in my grave.
Our lot is a hard lot; the sun himself
Has scarcely been more diligent than I.

(ll. 228-234.)

Again what pathos lies in those words of his to Luke:

To-morrow thou wilt leave me; with full heart
I look upon thee, for thou art the same
That wert a promise to me ere thy birth,
And all thy life hast been my daily joy.

(ll. 332-335.)

Michael as a poem is thus reducible to the simple presentation of a real man. Yet no such character had appeared in pastoral before. *Michael* was as nearly a complete novelty in pastoral as could be. The conventions of pseudo-paganism and the literary purpose and artifice of certain work of classical antiquity were inadequate for the introduction of a real man. With a democracy of his own, Wordsworth found nobility among the poor and lowly as well as among the wealthy and aristocratic; to Charles

²⁷ Cf. such passages as

"she . . .

Heard him, how he was troubled in his sleep,"

(ll. 290-1.)

and

"to his heart

He pressed his Son, he kissed him and wept."

(ll. 421-22.)

James Fox he indeed wrote, referring particularly to *Michael*, that "men who do not wear fine clothes feel deeply." ²⁸

The novelty of *Michael* did not cease here, however; another phase of it is not common in any literature. In word, it appears in the old man's attitude toward nature. Again one comes upon Scriptural reminiscences and religious inspiration. The "hills, which with vigorous step He had so often climbed" were like unto those whither David lifted his eyes and whence came his help. The hills and the fields

had laid
Strong hold upon his affections, were to him
A pleasurable feeling of blind love,
The pleasure which there is in life itself.

(ll. 74-77.)

He could not express his love, though he felt it; he had a faith, or belief in the unseen.

With his son as a companion, he became young once more:
Soon as Luke, full ten years old, could stand
Against the mountain blasts; and to the heights,
Not fearing toil, nor length of weary ways,
He with his Father daily went, and they
Were as companions, why should I relate
That objects which the Shepherd loved before
Were dearer now? that from the Boy there came
Feelings and emanations—things which were
Light to the sun and music to the wind;
And that the old Man's heart seemed born again?

(ll. 194-203.)

One hears the echo of phrases in the New Testament. Rebirth through the love of a father for his child is part of Wordsworth's mysticism. With unsurpassed eloquence he had expressed in *Tintern Abbey* those marvelous emo-

²⁸ *Letters of the Wordsworth Family*, ed. Wm. Knight, Boston and London, 1907, I, p. 139.

tions aroused by intuitive contemplation of Nature, and not inappropriately associated with the religious mystery of rebirth, which has been a cardinal element in Christian teaching. Now in *Michael* he added to his view of life an example of a kindred rebirth whereby the nature of a child enabled a father to see greater glories in the world than his perceptions from mere outer senses could recognize. Except rarely, neither parental love²⁹ nor Nature had been thus interpreted before.

The peculiar rejuvenation, inspiration, and sense of pervasive peace produced during an experience of rebirth presented extreme obstacles to expression, even when admitted as facts of emotion, and till Wordsworth had regularly baffled portrayal except in the religious field itself. But from Wordsworth's standpoint, such difficulties are in the office of the poet not only to discover but to solve; the phenomena must be interpreted. The poet has genius and therefore best serves his fellows by voicing the inmost feelings of humanity.

Wordsworth's sympathy had come through the agency of Nature; he discerned what others felt by noticing the effect of Nature upon his own feelings when he was young. He discusses this force in his development not only in the *Prelude* but in *Michael*. In respect of autobiography, therefore, is the pastoral novel; the inner sentiments of the author had nearly always been suppressed before.³⁰ Theocritus, Virgil, and Pope were not self-communicative and subjective. To Wordsworth, however, the story of Michael had a manifold significance; it had helped to mold him at an impressionable age; it afforded an example of

²⁹ Cf. *Prelude*, II, ll. 232 ff., for motherly love, "Blest the infant Babe . . ."

³⁰ Personal references such as those in Barclay and Spenser or masked political allusions are of a different sort.

the strange relation between man and Nature; it revealed the possible depth of feeling that a person in humble station might possess; and it was linked with his philosophy of life.

It was the first
Of those domestic tales that spake to me
Of Shepherds, dwellers in the valleys, men
Whom I already loved:—not verily
For their own sakes, but for the fields and hills
Where was their occupation and abode.

(ll. 21-26.)

The poet continued to tell why he wrote the tale:

And hence this Tale, while I was yet a Boy
Careless of books, yet having felt the power
Of Nature, by the gentle agency
Of natural objects, led me on to feel
For passions that were not my own, and think
(At random and imperfectly indeed)
On man, the heart of man, and human life.

(ll. 27-33.)

In conclusion, *Michael* was a novel pastoral partly because it dropped the convention of love and of amoebean contest, and because it dealt with a real English shepherd. These facts point to originality. In so far as the poem is autobiographical, it indicates a new attitude toward the use of eclogue. Nevertheless it is sufficiently objective in treatment. Unlike its predecessors, it resembles in style and dignity the great Biblical stories of a pastoral people. It reveals the noble feelings of a man in lowly station. *Michael* was at once true to life and an idealization above it; true in the sense that a shepherd might feel as *Michael* did toward man and Nature, idealized in that such a shepherd would need a poet's aid in order to express adequately what he felt. Thus it fulfilled the program of a great poet. The world has judged its value.

E. C. KNOWLTON.

XXI.—JOHN CROWNE AND AMERICA

To those who look askance when the drama of the last forty years of the seventeenth century is mentioned, it may be a doubtful honor to connect a minor Restoration playwright with the early history of America. But the fact remains that John Crowne, one of the most prolific of the dramatists of this period, was for three years a resident of New England and a student at Harvard College. He is now remembered chiefly as the author of *Sir Courtly Nice*, a comedy which held the boards for almost a hundred years.

Crowne's life has given some trouble to investigators. So recent a work as *The Cambridge History of English Literature* declares that his "birthday and parentage . . . are alike unknown," but that "it appears probable that he was the son of William Crowne, who emigrated to Nova Scotia, and that he was born about 1640."¹ For over a century and a half the assertion of John Dennis, the well-known critic of the early eighteenth century, that Crowne was the son of an Independent minister who lived in Nova Scotia,² was religiously copied by one biographer after another. In 1888, however, Mr. A. H. Bullen cast doubt upon Dennis's testimony in his article on Crowne in the *Dictionary of National Biography*,³ and in the same year the late Dr. J. S. Fogg of Boston found documentary evidence that William Crowne was not a preacher but a

¹ A. T. Bartholomew in *The Cambridge History of English Literature*, New York, 1912, VIII, p. 212.

² John Dennis, *Original Letters, Familiar, Moral, and Critical*, London, 1721, I, p. 48.

³ *The Dictionary of National Biography*, 1888, XIII, p. 243.

colonel in the British army.⁴ In 1891 further light was thrown upon the subject by Professor Archibald MacMechan of Dalhousie College, who had been working in the Nova Scotian archives,⁵ and in 1903 by Dr. W. H. Davis of Washington, D. C.⁶ From the researches of these scholars and my own investigations, I have been able to prove that John Crowne, the playwright, was the son of William Crowne, who, as a member of the household of the Earl of Arundel, accompanied that nobleman on an embassy to the court of Ferdinand II of Germany in 1636 and published an account of the journey the following year.⁷ In 1638, through the favor of the earl, this William Crowne became Rouge Dragon in the College of Arms.⁸ During the period of the Civil War and Commonwealth he was a lieutenant-colonel in the Parliamentary army,⁹ and in 1654 he was returned to Parliament for Bridgnorth.¹⁰ Two years later Colonel Crowne sank his

⁴ J. S. H. Fogg, *John Crowne—Dramatist and Poet. The Maine Historical and Genealogical Register* (1888), iv, p. 189.

⁵ Archibald MacMechan, *John Crowne, a Biographical Note. Modern Language Notes* (1891), vi, coll. 277-285.

⁶ Wm. H. Davis, *Colonel William Crowne and his Family. The New England Historical and Genealogical Register* (1903), LVII, pp. 406-410.

⁷ William Crowne, *A True Relation of All the Remarkable Places and Passages Observed in the Travels of Thomas, Lord Howard, Earle of Arundel and Surrey, Ambassadour Extraordinary to Ferdinando II, 1636*, London, 1637. See the dedication and pp. 1 and 70.

⁸ Edwin B. Chancellor, *Historical Richmond*, London, 1885, pp. 166-169. Wilhelm Grosse, *John Crownes Komödien und burleske Dichtung* [Leipzig], 1903, p. 6, was inclined to doubt the assertion of Oldys that William Crowne was Rouge Dragon. His letters patent are dated Sept. 14, 1638. Cf. Mark Noble, *A History of the College of Arms*, London, 1805, pp. 70, 93-94, 251.

⁹ *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, 1650, pp. 288, 505, 509.

¹⁰ Henry T. Weyman, *The Members of Parliament from Bridgnorth. Transactions of the Shropshire Archaeological and Natural History Society*, Fourth Series, v, p. 60.

earnings in an adventure which made him joint proprietor of the province of Nova Scotia with Colonel Thomas Temple, and in the summer of 1657 the two came to America. A division of the province was recorded in the Suffolk County Registry of Deeds in September, 1657, whereby Crowne became the sole proprietor of the lesser half of the territory; that is, of a stretch of land which we may designate roughly as the Penobscot River country.¹¹ After occupying the land for a short time Crowne leased it to Temple for a term of years at an annual rental of 110 *l*. Temple was an unscrupulous rascal, and after the first year failed to pay the rent, though he refused to give up the territory.

Thus matters stood at the Restoration when Colonel Crowne returned to England to serve as Rouge Dragon at the coronation of Charles II, and to defend his and Temple's right to Nova Scotia against certain persons who were endeavoring to procure a new royal grant. The old proprietors established their claim, and Temple promised Crowne to restore his moiety and to make reparation; but again he was faithless, and although the Colonel carried the matter to the New England courts, he could get no justice. In 1667 a still greater misfortune befell him. By the treaty of Breda Charles II ceded Nova Scotia to the French, and three years later Temple relinquished it to them.¹² Meanwhile Colonel Crowne had returned to New England in 1662, and lived in Boston and Roxbury until 1667. In the latter year he took up his residence in the newly settled town of Mendon, where he acted as town

¹¹*Suffolk County (Massachusetts) Registry of Deeds*, Boston, 1880-1906, III, p. 108.

¹²J. P. Baxter, *Documentary History of the State of Maine*, Portland, 1907, x, pp. 28-29.

register for five years. He afterwards returned to Boston, where he died in 1683 at the ripe age of seventy-five.¹³

Concerning the mother of John Crowne our information is scanty. At some time between 1635 and 1640 William Crowne married Agnes, the daughter of Richard Mackworth of Betton Strange, County Salop.¹⁴ She had previously been married to Richard Watts of Hertfordshire, who had died in 1635.¹⁵ She had one brother, Humphrey, who was prominent in political affairs during the Commonwealth. He was governor of Shrewsbury for a time, and later was a member of Cromwell's Council of State. Agnes Mackworth Crowne was the mother of three children, of whom John, the playwright, was the eldest. She did not accompany her husband to New England in 1657. She was alive apparently in 1674, when Colonel Crowne was ordered "to return to his wife" in England,¹⁶ but the date of her death is unknown.

The date of John Crowne's birth has hitherto been a matter of some uncertainty. Gosse placed it at about 1640,¹⁷ and MacMechan, on the basis of Crowne's attend-

¹³ Colonel Crowne's will was probated on Feb. 26, 1683. *Suffolk County Massachusetts Probate Records*, vol. VI, part 2.

¹⁴ Thos. Blore, *History of the Antiquities of the County of Rutland*, Stanford, 1811, p. 226.

¹⁵ Robt. Clutterbuck, *The History of the Antiquities of the County of Hertford*, London, 1827, III, p. 305.

¹⁶ On April 28, 1674 the General Court of Massachusetts issued the following order: "This Court taking into consideration that Collonell William Crowne hath lived here a considerable time from his wife judge meete to Order that the said Colonell do take passage for England & return thither to his wife by the next opportunity of shipping after these ships that are now ready to sail under penalty of twenty pounds according to the law." A ms. record of the Suffolk County Court in the Boston Athenaeum. I am indebted to Mr. John H. Edmonds, curator of the Gay Collection in the Harvard College Library, for this reference.

¹⁷ Edmund Gosse, *A History of Eighteenth Century Literature*, London, 1889, p. 58.

ance at Harvard College between 1657 and 1660, accepted the same date;¹⁸ but neither had any direct evidence to offer. In fact, however, Crowne himself affords us the information desired; for on September 14, 1660, in a deposition he gives his age as "about twenty yeares."¹⁹ His birthplace has likewise been in dispute, but we may be sure that he was born in England, not in Nova Scotia. This appears from a study of his father's life, which I have traced in considerable detail from his marriage (probably in 1638) to 1657. It was not until 1656, when the future playwright was sixteen years old, that the elder Crowne had any connection with America. John Crowne was doubtless born in Shropshire, where the family estate of his mother was situated, and where in 1644, four years after his birth, his father was serving as secretary to Lord Denbigh, a Parliamentary leader.²⁰

Concerning John Crowne's education in England we may only infer. His father was a prosperous and intelligent man, and doubtless procured for his son whatever advantages were to be had. Father and son came to America in 1657, and the boy must by that time have made some progress in the classics in order to enter Harvard

¹⁸ MacMechan, *op. cit.*, col. 282.

¹⁹ This deposition is reprinted by J. S. H. Fogg, *John Crowne—Poet and Dramatist. The Maine Historical and Genealogical Register*, iv, pp. 189-190. The original document was probably in Dr. Fogg's own collection, which has been dispersed since his death. Inquiries have failed to reveal its present habitat. Grosse, in his monograph, *John Crownes Komödien und burleske Dichtung*, p. 10, concludes that Crowne was born in 1645 on the basis of a statement in the dedication to *Pandion and Amphigeneia*, a prose romance, published in January 1665. Crowne there wrote: "I was scarcely 20 years of age when I fancied it." It is evident that between the fancying of it and the printing, several years elapsed.

²⁰ *Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts*, Fourth Report, 1874, London, 1875, p. 267.

College, as he did in the autumn of that year. The entrance requirements at that time included ability "to understand Tully, or such like Classical Latine author *ex tempore*, and to make and speake true Latine in verse and prose . . . and to decline perfectly the paradigms of nounes and verbes in the Greek tongue."²¹

The evidence for Crowne's college career, though not extensive, is sufficient. In an early Steward's Book, still extant in the Harvard archives, there is an entry recording the payment of 2 l. 2 s. by Colonel Crowne on September 2, 1657 to Thomas Chesholme, the Steward, for his son's tuition.²² J. L. Sibley also discovered payments by the Colonel for the quarters ending December 5, 1657 and June 5, 1659.²³ In addition to these financial items, we have a curious piece of testimony from John Crowne himself. In an undated deposition, describing the reception of the regicides Goffe and Whaley in Boston and Cambridge in 1660, he refers to Harvard College as "the university of New-England, of which the deponent was a member." He states further that he then "boarded in the house of Mr. [John] Norton," the minister of the principal church in Boston.²⁴

When the future playwright was a student at Harvard, "the College was," in the words of Josiah Quincy, "conducted as a theological institution in strict coincidence with the nature of the political constitution of the colony;

²¹ *New England's First Fruits, in respect to the Progress of Learning in the Colledge at Cambridge in Massachusetts-bay* . . . London, 1643, p. 13.

²² *The Steward's Book of Thomas Chesholme*, p. 323. This manuscript is in the archives of the Harvard College Library.

²³ J. L. Sibley, *Biographical Sketches of Graduates of Harvard University*, Cambridge, 1873, I, p. 577.

²⁴ George Chalmers, *Political Annals of the Present United Colonies*, London, 1780, Bk. I, pp. 263-264.

having religion for its basis and chief object.”²⁵ As the curious reader may gather from that interesting pamphlet, *New England's First Fruits*,²⁷ published in 1643, the curriculum was made up of such studies as natural philosophy, arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy among the sciences; ethics, politics, and logic among the philosophical studies; and among the languages, Greek, Hebrew, Chaldee, and Syriac. In addition a part of each week was given up to rhetoric, prosody, declamations, common-places, and disputations. The study of the Bible and the catechism was a natural part of the work, while history was assigned to the winter months, and the study of plants to the summer. The rules of conduct were very rigid, and each student had to report to his tutor at the seventh hour in the morning for prayers, and at the fifth hour at night to account for his private reading during the day. In view of such a system of education one does not wonder at the remark of Dennis concerning Crowne: “The Vivacity of his Genius made him soon grow impatient of that sullen and gloomy Education, and soon oblig’d him to get loose from it and seek his Fortune in England.”²⁷ However, it is probable that he received training that stood him in good stead in his later career, for his tragedies show a competent acquaintance with the works of such historians as Suetonius, Quintus Curtius, Dio Cassius, and Josephus, on all of whom he drew largely for dramatic material.

It is probable that the youthful Crowne returned to England with his father at the close of December, 1660.

²⁵ Josiah Quincy, *History of Harvard University*, Cambridge, 1846, I, p. 3.

²⁶ *Op. cit.*, pp. 14-16.

²⁷ Dennis, *op. cit.*, I, 49.

Had he remained in New England until August, 1661,²⁸ there is reason to believe that he would have been prepared to take the first degree, but his name nowhere appears among the records of Harvard alumni. It is difficult to see that Crowne's three years in America had any permanent effect upon him. His works show no recollections of this period, and late in life in one of his dedications he contrasts "the deserts of America" with "these beautiful parts o' the world"—that is, with England.²⁹ Yet the toryism of his political views may have been a normal reaction against the ideas which prevailed in England and America during his youth, and his strong opposition to Catholicism may perhaps be traced to the Protestant theological training which he received at Harvard.

It is significant that Crowne's entry upon the career of play-writing closely follows his father's loss of the Penobscot estate as a result of the treaty of Breda. Young Crowne could no longer hope for assistance from his father, and thus turned to the drama, the field of literary endeavor most attractive at the time for the opportunities it afforded of personal influence at court and of respectable financial returns. It is safe to say, I believe, that Crowne's muse was not awakened by any inner necessity for literary expression, but that he was a dramatist by force of circumstances. Had the American estate of his father been free from the unscrupulous control of Thomas Temple, and had international treaties been more considerate of the rights of individuals, Crowne, by his own confession, would not have "run into that madness call'd Poetry,"

²⁸ Albert Matthews, *Harvard Commencement Days, 1642-1916*. *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts*, XVIII, p. 379, conjectures that August 13th was the commencement date in 1661.

²⁹ John Crowne, *Dramatic Works*, ed. J. Maidment and W. H. Logan, Edinburgh, 1873-74, iv, p. 348.

nor have inhabited "that Bedlam call'd a Stage."³⁰
 From the first his muse was commercial, and even in later
 years she

Kept shop, like a good creditable cit,
 But traded in damn'd never thriving wit.³¹

Since his first aim was to make a living, he was a keen observer of the conditions of the time and followed the taste of his public with an eye to the ultimate returns. Thus his works run the gamut of all the types of drama then in vogue, and reflect remarkably well the requirements of Restoration audiences.

Crowne began his career as a dramatist with *Juliana* (1671), a tragi-comedy of the type which Dryden had begun to develop several years earlier in *The Rival Ladies*; but almost immediately he turned his attention to tragedy, and in spite of his apparent lack of ability in this direction, he persisted in writing mediocre tragedies throughout his life. His first serious plays were of the heroic type. *The History of Charles the Eighth of France* (1671) had only fair success on the stage, but the later two-part play, *The Destruction of Jerusalem* (1677), like Dryden's *Conquest of Granada* and Settle's *Empress of Morocco*, took the town by storm. When the vogue of the heroic drama gave way under the influence of Dryden and Otway to blank-verse tragedies of a less bombastic type, Crowne followed in the steps of his rivals. Of these later tragedies *Darius* (1688) is the best. The characters are rather tame, to be sure, but with the slender historical action is skilfully united a romantic sub-plot from the *Hippolytus* of Euripides, and many of the lines have real

³⁰ John Crowne, *Henry the Sixth, the First Part. With the Murder of Humphrey Duke of Gloucester. As it is Acted at the Dukes Theatre*, London, 1681. See the dedication.

³¹ Crowne, *Dramatic Works*, III, p. 376.

poetic quality. The majority of Crowne's tragedies have their sources in classical historians and dramatists; two of them are in part indebted to the works of contemporary French tragic poets; while two others are rehased versions of the Shakespearean trilogy of *Henry VI*.

Crowne's tragedies outnumber his comedies. He is remembered by posterity, however, chiefly as a comic dramatist, and he is often happy in his realistic portrayal of London life. His comic gift does not compare favorably with the light and graceful humor of Etherege, with the heavier masculine irony of Wycherley, or with the scintillating wit of Congreve; but he had a genuine feeling for the incongruous, and a talent for writing satire which, if caustic and coarse, is frequently very clever. Like other Restoration comic poets Crowne is much indebted to Molière both for matter and method. In his first comedy, *The Countrey Wit* (1675), he borrowed the sub-plot, sometimes even to the extent of translation, from *Le Sicilien, ou L'Amour Peintre*. Again, the minor plot of *The English Frier* (1689),—a caustic satire against priests,—is adapted from *Tartuffe* and *L'Avare*. Crowne's best comedies, however, are derived from Spanish sources. *Sir Courtly Nice* (1685), to which I shall return anon, is adapted from Moreto's *No Peude Ser*; and *The Married Beau* (1694) presents in a characteristic Restoration setting the famous story of *El Curioso Impertinente* from *Don Quixote*. Crowne's political comedy, *City Politiques* (1683), is a purely native growth. Of its connection with Charles II I shall speak presently.

Perhaps the most interesting phase of Crowne's career is his relation to Charles II. With the beginning of that relationship is associated a curious chapter of literary history, and at its close comes Crowne's most noteworthy contribution to the dramatic literature of his age. In the

early years of the second decade after the Restoration, John Wilmot, the profligate Earl of Rochester, ruled the fortunes of those dramatists who depended for a livelihood upon the success of their plays among the courtiers. To his influence was largely due the private presentation of Settle's *Empress of Morocco* at Whitehall before the king, as well as the later popularity of that playwright among the younger artists of the town. Dryden had earlier been on friendly terms with Rochester and had dedicated a play to him, but in the meantime Rochester had quarrelled with John Sheffield, the Earl of Mulgrave. When Mulgrave later became Dryden's patron, friendly relations between Dryden and Rochester ceased and from that time until his death Rochester was Dryden's enemy. Such was the situation in 1673, when Settle's *Empress of Morocco* was brought out by his printers in a special edition adorned with "sculptures," and priced at two shillings, twice the customary charge for play-books. In the dedication Settle took occasion to refer satirically to Dryden and the ill success of his latest play. Dryden was already jealous of the unmerited popularity of his younger rival, and he was not slow in retorting. Assisted by Shadwell and Crowne, he replied in an anonymous pamphlet made up mainly of abuse and quibbles.³² Settle returned the compliment in kind, and, supported by Rochester and Buckingham, had altogether the better of the quarrel.³³

The prominence which Settle had won by his successful encounter with Dryden soon caused the fickle Rochester to withdraw his favor. The opportunity came in the summer

³² *Notes and Observations on the Empress of Morocco, Or some of the Errata's to be Printed instead of the Sculptures with the Second Edition of that Play*, London, 1674.

³³ F. C. Brown, *Elkanah Settle, His Life and Works*, Chicago, 1910, pp. 57-58.

of 1674, when Princess Mary, the elder daughter of the Duke of York, desired a masque for court performance. Because of his commanding influence Rochester was enabled to select Crowne to write the piece. Thus in one move he could both curb the vainglorious Settle and mortify Dryden, whose function it was as poet-laureate to compose such entertainments. The selection of Crowne as masque-writer was not due to any peculiar qualifications which he possessed for the task, but rather to the malice of Rochester. The result was the masque *Calisto; or the Chaste Nymph*, elaborately performed by the two princesses and other young noblewomen in December 1674, and in the following January. The production of *Calisto* was a noteworthy event in Crowne's life. It brought him into the place of prominence in literary circles which Settle had held but recently, and it marks the beginning of his relations as a playwright with Charles II. As a result of his masque, Crowne experienced for the first time the "princely bounty" of the Merry Monarch. In the next year he was again honored by Charles, who found the low comedy elements of *The Countrey Wit* much to his liking.

The favor which Crowne had come to enjoy from King Charles as a result of *Calisto* and *The Countrey Wit* was no doubt pleasing to his father on the other side of the Atlantic. Hope of securing compensation for the loss of his estate in the Penobscot region, so that he might leave behind a better provision for his children, led the elder Crowne to suggest to his literary son that he capitalize his favor with royalty and petition for the proprietorship of Mounthope, near the Plymouth settlements. Accordingly, in 1679 Crowne appealed to the King and Privy Council, but the Governor and Council of New Plymouth objected so strenuously and with so much right that the Lords of Trade agreed to deny Crowne's petition, "whatever his

pretensions to the King's favor on some previous occasion." ³⁴ Despairing of obtaining Mounthope, Crowne petitioned in the following year, and again doubtless at his father's suggestion, for Boston Neck, a rich strip of shore in the Narragansett country between the Pettaquamscutt river and the western entrance to Providence bay, but nothing came of it. ³⁵

Meanwhile Crowne aligned himself definitely with the Tory party in the struggles which developed out of the religious and political turmoil of the so-called Popish Plot. In *The Ambitious Statesman* (1679) and *Thyestes* (1681) he touched upon the subject only incidentally, but he emphatically defended the sanctity of royalty and violently attacked the priesthood. At this time also he adapted the second and third parts of the Shakespearean trilogy of *Henry VI* for partisan purposes. In *The Miseries of Civil-War* (1680) he pointed to the miseries resulting from the War of the Roses and bade England beware of religious fanaticism. In *Henry the Sixth, the First Part* (1681) he used the villainous cardinal as the vehicle of a satire against Catholicism. The most interesting and important of Crowne's political satires, however, is the comedy entitled *City Politiques*. The circumstances of its production illustrate again the peculiar favor in which Crowne was held by Charles II. The political nature of the play caused it to be held up in the offices of the Lord Chamberlain, Henry Bennet, who, according to Dennis, was secretly a Whig, and therefore hindered every effort at stage satire against his party. Dennis is also authority for the statement that Crowne at length grew impatient of the delay, and relying upon his favor with King Charles,

³⁴ *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial*, 1677-80, pp. 319, 384-385, 435-436.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 477, 492.

secured a royal mandate to have the play acted.³⁶ Most of the major characters in *City Politiques* are thinly-veiled caricatures of leading Whigs. Thus the Podesta represents Shaftesbury as the leader of his party; the Catholic bricklayer is intended for Stephen College, the Protestant joiner; Dr. Panchy is an impersonation of "Dr." Titus Oates; while in the person of Craffy, Crowne satirizes the chief Whig poets of the day, such as Shadwell, Settle, and Samuel Pordage.

The clever political satire in *City Politiques* must have been very pleasing to the Tories and to the king himself. In 1684, therefore,—when Shaftesbury was dead, and his opponents were enjoying their power,—Crowne chose a favorable moment to plead with the king for a reward. He had ample testimony of the enmity which the Whigs bore him for his satire against their leaders. He was weary, moreover, of the uncertainty which confronted even his best efforts as a playwright. Then too, he was conscious that the government owed him something for the loss of his father's estate. With these things in mind he asked King Charles for an office which should give him a comfortable income and secure his elder years against misfortune. According to Dennis, the king was willing to grant the request, but being a great lover of merry comedies, insisted that Crowne should write him another play.³⁷ Crowne attempted to excuse himself on the ground that he was a slow plotter, but the king supplied him with a Spanish comedy, Moreto's *No Peude Ser*, and there was no escape. At length *Sir Courtly Nice* was evolved from the Spanish plot, and the play was placed in rehearsal. Good success seemed to await it, and the author looked forward to the fulfilment of the king's promise. But Crowne was born under an unlucky star. On the very day of the last

³⁶ Dennis, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 49-50.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, I, pp. 51-52.

rehearsal the profligate king was seized with a fit and three days later he died. With his death perished Crowne's favor at court, and the possibility of his advancement to a position of independence. Even the later extraordinary success of *Sir Courtly Nice* upon the stage must have given him cold comfort for the loss of his royal patron.

The story of the last twenty-odd years of Crowne's life may be briefly told. It is the story of his renewed struggle to make a living from the theatre, and of his long, patient, and futile effort to recover his lost patrimony in America. During the short reign of James II, Crowne was aware of the uselessness of petitioning the Catholic king, but the turn of events which placed William and Mary on the throne gave him renewed hopes. While Queen Mary was alive Crowne did not suffer want. She remembered that when she was a princess in her 'teens at the court of her royal uncle, the now ageing playwright had written a masque for her amusement, and as a result he enjoyed her "princely bounty."³⁸ With her death, however, he again felt the pinch of poverty, and addressed frequent petitions to King William for the recovery of his estate, but all in vain.³⁹ The accession of Queen Anne in 1702 brought a modicum of relief. Like her older sister, she too remembered the masque and his part in it, and annually during his last years, upon petition, he received a grant of 50*l*.⁴⁰

The date of Crowne's death, like that of his birth, has been shrouded in uncertainty. A. T. Bartholomew, whose account of Crowne in *The Cambridge History of English Literature* I have already quoted, says that he "seems to have been alive in 1701."⁴¹ Most of the older bio-

³⁸ Crowne, *Dramatic Works*, iv, p. 350.

³⁹ *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial*, 1700, pp. 344-345, 430, 445, 474, 663-664.

⁴⁰ *Calendar of Treasury Papers*, 1702-1707, p. 218.

⁴¹ *Op. cit.*, viii, p. 215.

graphers, however, following a manuscript note by Oldys in a copy of Langbaine's *Account of the English Dramatic Poets* to the effect that Crowne was alive in 1703, state that he died shortly afterwards. As a matter of fact he lived on for more than a decade into the eighteenth century. Official treasury papers record grants of money to him as late as November 30, 1706,⁴² but thereafter they are silent. Presumably the charity of Queen Anne, like that of others, had its limits. The now poverty-stricken and superannuated playwright lingered on for another half-dozen years. He died late in April 1712, and was buried in the church of St. Giles-in-the-Fields on the twenty-seventh of the month. Although it was a common practice at St. Giles to record the parentage of the deceased, in the case of John Crowne only his name and burial date are given — mute testimony of the obscurity into which the once popular Restoration playwright had fallen.⁴³

No likeness of Crowne has come down to us, so far as I have been able to ascertain. But we know something, at least, of his personal appearance from the recollections of an old man which appeared in *The Gentleman's Magazine* in 1745. "Many a cup of metheglin," he writes, "have I drank with little starch'd Johnny Crown; we called him so from the stiff unalterable primness of his long

⁴² *Calendar of Treasury Papers, 1702-1707*, p. 474.

⁴³ The "Burial" Book of the church of St. Giles-in-the-Fields. Oldys in his manuscript annotations in a copy of Langbaine's *Account of the English Dramatic Poets*, cited above, stated that Crowne was buried in St. Giles-in-the-Fields. Sir William Musgrave in his *Obituary Prior to 1800*, II, p. 116 (*Publications of the Harleian Society*, XLV, 1900) recorded Crowne's death date as 1712, but failed to give the source of his information. It may be interesting to note in passing that St. Giles is the burial place of such well-known literary figures of the seventeenth century as James Shirley, Andrew Marvel, and Sir Roger L'Estrange.

cravat." ⁴⁴ However much Crowne, the Restoration playwright, may have differed from Crowne the student in Harvard College, he seems to have retained to the last a prim, puritanical mode of dress as the most striking feature of his outward semblance.

To summarize. Among the dramatists of the Restoration period, Crowne was a writer of distinctly second-rate talent whose works are comparable to those of Thomas Shadwell and Mrs. Aphra Behn. Since his plays represent practically all of the types of drama then in vogue, and since he always wrote with an eye to the financial rewards, a study of his dramas gives us a clearer insight into the requirements of Restoration audiences than are revealed in the works of men of greater genius. By virtue of patient industry, he became a skilful workman, and in his tragedies he substituted cleverness in adaptation and construction of plots for the richer power to characterize well and write memorable lines. He was much more at home in comedy, where he possessed a small but natural gift. He went to school to Molière for much of his technique, and in the lighter dramas he mirrored the follies and vices of his time with admirable faithfulness, if with no great brilliancy. As a political and religious satirist, Crowne is frequently coarse and abusive, but at other times he shows a firm grasp of his material and is very clever in his hits. The poetry of his serious dramas is almost entirely lacking in inspiration, beauty, or breadth of vision. In the prose dialogue of his comedies, however, he is fluent if not sparkling, and the easy-flowing blank verse of his only poetical comedy, *The Married Beau*, is better than the great bulk of his work.

ARTHUR FRANKLIN WHITE.

⁴⁴ *The Gentleman's Magazine*, xv (1745), p. 99.

XXII.—THE *PALATINE PASSION* AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PASSION PLAY

The similarities of phrase, arrangement, and general development that are to be observed in so many mediæval religious plays in which divergences are nevertheless equally apparent have been variously explained as due to the common scriptural, liturgical, theological, or vernacular sources of these plays. Nor has the possibility that one play or cycle may have borrowed directly from another been overlooked. The paucity of early texts, however, contrasted with the relatively more abundant remains of the later highly developed plays and cycles, has tended to obscure the whole problem. With the recent discovery and publication¹ of the oldest text of a complete French Passion play that has survived—the manuscript is dated from the beginning of the fourteenth century by Dr. Christ—new data has become available, and it can be shown, I think, from the relations existing between this so-called *Palatine Passion* and other French Passion plays that many of the puzzling resemblances in the medieval drama

¹ By Karl Christ, who edits it as: "Das altfranzösische Passions-spiel der Palatina" in *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, XL, pp. 405-488. The two manuscripts of the *Autun Passion* were not accessible to Dr. Christ and the *Passion des Jongleurs* was known to him only in the prose redaction of Jean d'Outremeuse and the mutilated version included in the so-called *Roman de S. Faniel* published in *Revue des langues romanes* XXVIII (1885). Had he seen the Paris MSS. and the versions of the epic poem published by Foster, Theben and Pfuhl (see note 8, *infra*) he would doubtless not have suggested (pp. 413, 415) that the similarities between the *Palatine Passion*, the *Passion d'Autun* and the *Passion de Semur* may emanate from their common dependence upon the *Passion des Jongleurs*.

arise from the fact that the same texts often served as the basis for the representations given in different communities. These texts were at various times subjected to revision, and it is the successive alterations made upon them which have in many cases concealed their original connections.

The earliest manuscripts of French Passion plays hitherto signalled are the short fragment of only eighty-seven lines from Sion published by M. Bédier in *Romania*, xxiv, pp. 86 ff. and dated between the end of the thirteenth and middle of the fourteenth centuries, the Provençal Passion contained in the Didot manuscript,² dated 1345, and the so-called *Passion d'Autun* described by M. Roy in *Le Mystère de la Passion en France du XIV^e au XVI^e siècle* (Dijon and Paris, 1903), pp. 40* ff. from two manuscripts (Bibliothèque Nationale, n. a. fr. 4085 and 4356), both dating from the fifteenth century.³

That the *Palatine Passion* is related to the fragment from Sion published by M. Bédier and to the *Passion d'Autun*⁴ there can be no doubt. That the two latter

² From the published extracts and discussions of this manuscript I have been unable to establish any connection between it and the *Palatine Passion*. Cf. Petit de Julleville, *Les Mystères*, II, 351; *Le Monde*, April 14, 1876; *Revue des langues romanes*, x, 158; xvii, 303; xxviii, 8-23, 53-65; xxxii, 343; *Bibliothèque meridionale*, Serie I, vol. 3, pp. xvi ff.; *Ztschr. f. franz. Spr. u. Lit.* xvii², 210, and Emile Streblow, *Das Mystère de Semur*, Greifswald, 1905.

³ Through the kindness of M. Lucien Foulet I was able to obtain photographs of these manuscripts. Extracts from them may also be found in the articles by Schumacher (*Romania*, xxxvii, 570) and Jeanroy (*Journal des Savants*, 1906, 476).

⁴ See Christ, *op. cit.* p. 483, note to l. 1724. For the purposes of the following comparison, the *Autun Passion* may be regarded as being preserved in MS. Bib. Nat. n. a. fr. 4085. The related manuscript n. a. fr. 4356 (an incomplete and in general much abbreviated version, though containing some incidents not found in n. a. fr. 4085)

texts are themselves related has already been pointed out by M. Roy.⁵ To what extent the Palatine and Autun

parallels the latter closely in those parts related to the *Palatine Passion*, and the very few independent parallels between the Palatine text and n. a. fr. 4356 which are not in n. a. fr. 4085 can be explained as due to the intermediate source or sources from which all three MSS. derive. Thus n. a. fr. 4356 contains reminiscences (some quite faint) of the following lines of the *Palatine Passion*, none of which occur in n. a. fr. 4085: 85, 94, 141-2, 272 (the healing of Malchus is omitted in n. a. fr. 4085), 582, 762-3, but some of these lines derive from the *Passion des Jongleurs* and others quite evidently disappeared from n. a. fr. 4085 when the narrative passages were inserted in that version. The scenes of n. a. fr. 4356 which are not in n. a. fr. 4085 (notably the foot-washing and Veronica incidents) are also absent from the Palatine text. They may be original contributions by the editor of n. a. fr. 4356, or, since they also occur in the *Passion des Jongleurs*, they may have been present in some common ancestor of n. a. fr. 4085 and 4356. The latter ends with Joseph's request that Nicodemus assist at the entombment.

⁵ His tendency, however, to regard the Sion fragment and n. a. fr. 4356 as practically one text seems to me not altogether happy. In discussing the versions of the *Passion d'Autun* contained in MS. n. a. fr. 4085, M. Roy hazarded the interesting conjecture that the original *Passion d'Autun* may have been designed not for an ordinary dramatic performance but for the use of jongleurs with histrionic talents equal to the assumption of many different roles (*op. cit.*, p. 53*). He was led to this conclusion by the large number of purely narrative lines imbedded in MS. n. a. fr. 4085. M. Fr. Schumacher, however, plausibly suggested in *Romania*, xxxvii, pp. 592-3, that the work was originally dramatic rather than narrative in form and that the narrative passages of this particular manuscript are due to *remaniements*. M. Schumacher's conclusions are supported not only by the relation of this text to that in MS. Bib. Nat. n. a. fr. 4356, to the Sion fragment, and to the *Palatine Passion*, none of which has these narrative passages (the four narrative passages in the Palatine text are in no way related), but especially by the fact that although n. a. fr. 4085 derives from the old narrative *Passion des Jongleurs*, its narrative passages are not taken from that poem. See A. Jeanroy, *Mystères français de la Passion*, *Romania*, xxxv, 369. M. Jeanroy indeed was led by this fact—and by M. Roy's failure to cite the other parallels between the two texts that do exist—to doubt whether they were related. Of this relationship,

Passions derive from the play represented by the Sion fragment remains uncertain, but that they do not derive from each other can, I think, be proved.

Unfortunately, the Sion fragment is so short that inferences based upon resemblances to it must be made with caution. This much is clear, however. In the passages common to all three texts, the Palatine and Autun *Passions* have no agreeing lines which are not also found in the fragment. Both *Passions*, however, fail to include lines 34-35 of the fragment. If the play represented by the Sion fragment were their source, this omission could only be explained as fortuitous, but if we suppose their source to have been not the very text preserved in the fragment, but either (1) the source of that fragment or (2) a derivative of it, all relations between the three manuscripts at this point are satisfactorily explained.

Whatever the degree of their relationship to it, therefore, the play represented by the Sion fragment may be regarded as a more or less remote ancestor of these two complete texts. The nature of their individual agreements with it, moreover, establishes the fact that it is from some such common ancestor that they derive, and not from each other. Thus although the extensive parallels between the fragment and the *Autun Passion* include scenes and verbal coincidences which are wanting in the *Palatine Passion*,⁶ nevertheless the Palatine text in at

however, there can be no question (see *infra*). The narrative passages in n. a. fr. 4085 therefore are later additions to a text originally dramatic, and were probably designed to adapt it for recitation or reading.

* The lines of the fragment which appear in n. a. fr. 4085 and not in the Palatine manuscript are lines 1-25, 38-9, and 43-end. The concluding "sermon" of the fragment, however, is expanded to twice its length by the Autun text. In the fragment and the Autun text, the awakening of the knights immediately follows the Descen-

least three lines (1726, 1728, and 1731) resembles the fragment more closely than the *Autun Passion* does, line 1731 indeed corresponding to line 33 of the Sion fragment for which the *Autun* text presents no parallel. Evidently, therefore, neither play can have served as the source of the other.

This fact, however, emerges even more clearly from the relations existing between these two Passions and their more remote source, the Old French narrative poem sometimes called the *Passion des Jongleurs*. M. Roy suggested ⁷ that the author of the *Autun Passion* apparently knew this poem, and I have tried to show elsewhere how largely the *Palatine* play made use of it.⁸ In the *Palatine Passion* in fact long passages from the narrative *Passion* are incorporated almost verbatim, and the parallels between the two texts are not only much closer but much more extended than between the narrative poem and the *Passion d'Autun*.⁹ In other words, the *Palatine Passion* gives the impression of being in parts quite directly de-

sus; in the *Palatine Passion*, which places the Descensus earlier, several scenes intervene.

⁷ *Loc. cit.* p. 46*.

⁸ *Modern Language Notes*, xxxv, 257 ff. The *Passion des Jongleurs* is printed with variants by H. Theben, *Die altfranzösische Achtsilbnerredaktion der Passion*, Greifswald, 1909 and by E. Pfuhl (who continues Theben's work), *Die weitere Fassung der altfranzösischen Dichtung in achtsilbigen Reimpaaren über Christi Höllenfahrt und Auferstehung (Fortsetzung der eigentlichen Passion) nach 5 Hss. in Cambridge, Paris und Turin*, Greifswald, 1909. For an excellent treatment of the sources of this poem, for a discussion of the relations existing between the various mss., and for a text of it printed from a ms. not used by Theben and Pfuhl, see Frances A. Foster, *The Northern Passion*, Early English Text Society, 1916, vol. 147, pp. 49 ff. and 102 ff.

⁹ In the scenes common to all three texts, the *Autun Passion* very rarely contains lines derived from the narrative poem which are not in the *Palatine Passion*.

pendent upon the *Passion des Jongleurs*, whereas the dependence of the *Passion d'Autun* is apparently often obscured by its distance from this source.¹⁰ Of the 189 lines of the narrative poem (cited as "O. F. P.") which are printed in *Modern Language Notes* xxxv, 260 ff. as parallel to lines in the *Palatine Passion*, only fifty are to be found in Bib. Nat. n. a. fr. 4085 (fewer still in n. a. fr. 4356).¹¹ Some of these appear in the Autun text almost unchanged (notably O. F. P. 147-52, 154, 187-90, 1038, 1040, 667-8, and 1043-4) but others show every evidence of the ravages of time. A few examples of the latter will perhaps serve to indicate what has happened:

Compare Pal. 363-84 = O. F. P. 889-909, 923-4 with

¹⁰ Any assumption that the two plays *independently* adopted portions of the narrative poem is rendered unlikely by the presence in both of them of parallel lines and scenes which do not derive from that poem, as well as by the occurrence and non-occurrence to so large an extent in both of them of the *same* passages, similarly transposed, taken from the poem. The possibility, however, that the Palatine branch of the common tradition borrowed from the poem a second time—after its separation from the version giving rise to the Autun texts—seems to me not altogether remote.

¹¹ These fifty lines are: O. F. P. 147-52, 154, 187-90, 198-9, 213-4, 234, 469-70, 492, 494, 594-5, 895-6, 900-2, 1038, 1040, 667-8, 1043-4, 1066, 1068a-b, 1059-60, 1077b, 1083-4, 1459-61, 1463, 1436a-38, 1453-4. It will be observed that often when the Pauline text incorporates a long passage of the O. F. P. the Autun text preserves only a few lines.

Only the more striking parallels between the O. F. P. and Pal. were printed in *Modern Language Notes* xxxv, (cf. p. 259), and among those not cited are the following which contain lines common to all three texts: Cf. O. F. P. 55-80 with Pal. 83-96 and n. a. fr. 4085 (cited hereafter as A), fol. 146 r; cf. O. F. P. 706 with Pal. 519 and A. fol. 151 v; O. F. P. 1056, 1056 c = Pal. 690-92 = A. fol. 156 r; O. F. P. 1190-1 = Pal. 695-6 = A. fol. 156 r; O. F. P. 1063-4 = Pal. 696-7 = A. fol. 156 r; O. F. P. 1065-8 = Pal. 701-3 = A. 156 v; O. F. P. 1290-1308 = Pal. 787-825 = A. fol. 157 v; O. F. P. 1307-8 = Pal. 825-9 = A. 158 r; O. F. P. 1400-2 = Pal. 961-4 = A. fol. 160 r.

the eight lines which alone represent this passage in the Autun MS. (n. a. fr. 4085), fol. 154 r and v (= Pal. 369-77 = O. F. P. 895-903):

*Palatine Passion**Old French Passion*

[Herode]

Or ça, a moy, amis Jhesu! 363	Herode voit venir Jesu, 889
Que par .c. fois bien vieignes tu,	Il li a dit: "Bien vieignes tu,
Et cil ait bien qui ça t'envoie!	Et chil ait bien qui cha t'envoie!
C'est Pilates que tant heoie.	C'est Pilate que je haoie.
Je ne le hé mais de noient;	Or li pardoins mon maltalent,
Je li pardoin mon mal talent.	Or nel harai ge mais noient.
Mout a lonc tens que je voloie 369	Moult a grant tans que je voloie
Parle[r] a toy mais ne pooie.	Parler a toi, mès ne pooie;
Ne sai pour paour ou pour quoi	Car ne venoies devant moi,
N'osoies venir devant moy.	Ne sai pour paour ou pourquoi.
J'ai oï dire par ton seignacle	Et je sai bien par ton seignacle
A on veï maint biau miracle: 374	A l'en veï mainte miracle: 900
Li mort en sont resuscité,	Li mort en sont resuscité
Et li avugle ralumé,	Li avule renluminé,
Et maint autre que fait avez,	Et maint autre que fait avés
Je en ai oï souvent parler.	Dont j'ai oï parler assés.
Or m'en fai .i. apertement 379	Mès or m'en fai .I. em present, 905
Si que voient toute la gent,	Si que le voient toute la gent.
Et je tel plait après ferai	Et je ferai tel plait après,
Que tout delivre te rendrai.	Que tu remaindras tout em pais."
Enseigne nous ou bien ou mal.—	"Enseigne nous ou mal ou bien!"
383	923
Bien voi que tu n'en feras al.	Jesus ne repont nulle rien.

Passion d'Autun

Moul[t] long temps a que je voloye
 A toy parler mais ne pouroye.
 Je scay pour voir par ton visaie
 Qu'es gens as fait maintes miracle.
 Tu as les mors resusitez
 Et les dyables des corps gectez,
 Maintes miracles tu as fait,
 J'en suis certain que m'as tu fait.

Compare Pal. 947-52 = O. F. P. 1459-64 with the four lines in n. a. fr. 4085, fol. 161 r which alone represent these six:

*Palatine Passion**Old French Passion*

[Cayfas]

C'est cil qui le temple abatra 947 "C'est chil qui le temple abatra
1459

Et en .iij. jourz le refera.	Et en .III. jours refait l'avra.
Se tu es fuiz a Dieu le pere,	Se tu es fils al roi del mont,
Ne te laissier en tel maniere,	Et se tu dois sauver le mont,
Mais de cele croys descent jus!	De cele crois car descent jus!
De nous croira en toy li plus. 952	De nous erera en toi li plus. 1464

Passion d'Autun

Tu dis que le temple Dieu destrura
Et en troys jours le reffera.
Se tu es filz de Dieu tout puissant
Maintenant de la croix descent.

On the other hand, the *Autun Passion* contains a number of details deriving from the *Passion des Jongleurs*—some involving verbal reminiscences—which are not to be found in the *Palatine Passion*; and occasionally in the sequence of scenes the Autun text agrees with the narrative poem when the Palatine text does not.¹² In some

¹² Thus n. a. fr. 4085 and O. F. P. contain Judas' reference to the poor (fol. 147 r; O. F. P. 93-4); the correct figure for the deniers, 300 (fol. 146 v; O. F. P. 92a); two lines echoing O. F. P. 200-1, MSS. SO' (fol. 147 v); the prediction of Peter's betrayal (fol. 148 r; 337-44, two lines very like); the dream of Pilate's wife (fol. 152 v; 1020 ff.); the purchase of the field of blood (153 r; 843); Pilate's reason for sending Jesus to Herod (153 v; 879-80, these lines quite parallel); the road to Calvary and Simon's bearing of the cross (159 v; 1317 ff.); and finally the speeches of the good and bad thieves and Jesus' reply to them (163 v; 1481-96, some eight lines similar), all of which are wanting in the Palatine text. Moreover, several scenes appear in their scriptural position in O. F. P. and 4085 which have been shifted in Pal.: the blindfolding and buffeting of Jesus during the trial before Caiaphas; the denial of Peter; the second trial before Pilate; the casting of the lots; and finally both O. F. P. and Autun seem to follow *John* xix, 29-30 in making *consummatum est* follow *spongiam plenam acete*, whereas in Pal. the Longinus scene intervenes. (The difference between the Gospels and the fact that two drinks are mentioned probably account for the fact that all three

instances, to be sure, such agreements may be accidental, due to the scriptural and theological sources underlying all the texts, but in others it seems clear that the *Palatine* playwright has eliminated certain elements that were present in the parent-play from which both these versions descend. One must again assume, therefore, that the *Palatine* and *Autun Passions*, as we know them, derive not from each other but from some common source.

Were the similarities between the two texts confined to those scenes that are related to the narrative poem and the *Sion* fragment, we should have no difficulty in positing one or the other, or both, as that source. But the agreement is much more extended. In fact, of the 1996 lines of the *Palatine Passion*, nearly one-seventh bear a distinct verbal resemblance to lines in the *Passion d'Autun*, and such similarities in phraseology occur not only in the more conventional scenes, common to the liturgical as well as to the vernacular plays, but also in scenes that constitute a purely dramatic extension of the story.¹³

versions are at variance in the order of the events following the Crucifixion. The various MSS. of the O.F.P. themselves differ. Cf. Theben's notes to ll. 1390 and 1404.)

¹³ Notably in the scene between Peter and the host; the *Planctus* of Mary Magdalene before anointing Jesus; John and Peter in the courtyard; the scene at the smith's (these three episodes are in germ in the O.F.P.); the hanging of the two thieves; the second *Planctus Mariae* and Joseph's reply; Pilate's reply to Joseph's request (but Pilate's long apology for his action is not in *Pal.*); the scene between Joseph and Nicodemus (in part); Annas' dispatch of his servant to Caiaphas and the following scene between Annas and Caiaphas; the boasting of the knights; the angel's summons, and the effect of the Resurrection upon the knights. Two scenes which differ in position and development in the two texts nevertheless contain reminiscent lines: the casting of the lots (they feast and throw dice in *Autun*), and the Longinus episode (much longer in *Autun* and differently conceived, but in both versions Longinus pierces the side

The conclusion is therefore inevitable that we do not possess the immediate source of the *Palatine Passion*. Another play, or other plays, must have existed that occasioned those similarities between the Autun and Palatine *Passions* which (1) do not derive from any dependence of one text upon the other and (2) are not due to their common dependence upon the narrative *Passion des Jongleurs*. Whether or not the Sion fragment represents such a play we cannot say—too small a part of it has survived. It may have given rise to this source or itself have been derived from it. That such a play, however, was largely influenced by the narrative poem cannot be doubted.

In this connection the question naturally presents itself:

of Jesus before his death).

The most noteworthy differences between the two versions are: 1) the absence from the Palatine text of the prologue, the prophecy of Peter's betrayal, the foot-washing scene (only in n. a. fr. 4356), the dream of Pilate's wife, the *preudome* seeking *an aces pour la teste Jhesu repouser*, the scene between the daughters of Jerusalem and Jesus, the Veronica incident (these two only in 4356), the march to Calvary, the speeches of the thieves and Jesus' reply, Mary's rehearsal of the scenes preceding the Crucifixion, Pilate's excuses to Joseph for his action, the placing of the stone before the tomb by one of the knights, the appearance of the risen Christ to Mary Magdalene, and the concluding *sermon*; 2) the absence from the Autun version of the four introductory lines in the Palatine text, the greetings of the *enfant d'Israel*, the angel's words (ll. 184-191), the missing pieces of silver, the scenes involving Cayn and Huitacelin, Pilate and Joel, Moses and Haquin, the long *diablerie*, the various stanzaic Planctus, the Spice-merchant, the three Maries at the tomb and Peter's meeting with them; 3) the different development (and in some instances the different positions) of the scene in the garden of Gethsemane, the bargain of Judas, the capture, the healing of Malchus, the trial before Caiaphas, the despair of Judas, the scourging, the casting of the lots, the Crucifixion (in *Pal.* Jesus is nailed to the raised cross; in n. a. fr. 4085 the cross is raised later,—an addition due to the redactor responsible for the narrative passages in this version), the Longinus episode, the harrowing of Hell, and the Resurrection.

what were the circumstances that produced the tangled series of similarities and dissimilarities in these various related texts? A clue to the answer may perhaps be found in the statement by Petit de Julleville: "aucun mystère ne fut représenté aussi souvent que *la Passion*, le mystère par excellence; depuis le commencement du XIV^e siècle jusqu'à l'époque de la Renaissance, nous en connaissons plus de cent représentations données dans toutes les villes de France, et quelquefois dans de simples bourgs."¹⁴

Did each city, each little village, have its own separate Passion play? We know, of course, that for obvious reasons the liturgical plays followed the same general development the world over, even the more expanded ones retaining to a large extent the same phrasing in widely separated localities.¹⁵ We also know that "au mois de mars 1523 (1524 n. st.) les Dijonnais avaient emprunté la *Résurrection* du chapitre de Besançon" (Roy, *op. cit.* 76*); that in 1490 the chaplain of the guild of St. George at New Romney, Kent, went to see a play at Lydd with a view to reproducing it at home.¹⁶ We know too that the later French Passion plays are little more than compila-

¹⁴ *Le théâtre en France*, pp. 19-20. Cf. also the records in *Les Mystères*, vol. II, 1 ff., and in E. K. Chambers, *The Mediæval Stage*, II, Appendix W.

¹⁵ Cf. e. g. the Rouen, Friesing and Orleans Christmas plays, conveniently compared in Charles Davidson's *Studies in the English Mystery Plays*, Yale dissertation, 1892, pp. 50 ff. One must of course assume considerable "borrowing" within the church — which may have served as a precedent.

¹⁶ Chambers, *op. cit.* II, 386. Intercourse of a different nature is revealed by the presence of Wakefield, Donnington and London, actors at York (L. T. Smith, *York Plays*, p. xxxviii), and by the fact that the wardrobe of the Chelmsford players was loaned to other communities for their plays (Chambers, II, 347). That actors might become "carriers" has often been posited. See Hohlfeld, *Anglia*, XI, 258.

tions of scenes plundered from the earlier ones—the relations existing between the two Valenciennes *Passions* and their sources, and between the *Passions* of Jean Michel and Greban, of Arras and Semur bear abundant witness to this fact.¹⁷ The *Passion de Semur* was itself a generous borrower.¹⁸ In England the situation is similar. Numerous points of contact between individual plays in the five great religious cycles have been pointed out, and in four of them the same play (*Christ and the Doctors*)¹⁹ appears in essentially the same form. Two of the cycles, moreover, seem to be so closely related, despite their many divergences, that it has recently been conjectured that they were originally identical.²⁰ An analogous situation exists

¹⁷ Cf. B. Koeppen, *Die beiden Valencienner Passionen in ihrem Verhältnis zu den Quellen*, Greifswald, 1911; E. Franke, *Untersuchung über das Mystere de la Conception et Nativité de la glorieuse Vierge Marie avecques le mariage d'icelle, la nativité, passion, resurrection et ascension. . . Jesucrist, jouee a Paris, 1507*, Greifswald, 1907; K. Kruse, *Jean Michel, Das Mystère de la Passion Jesu Christ . . . und sein Verhältnis zu der Passion von Arnould Greban u. zu d. beiden Valencienner Passions*, Greifswald, 1907, and the related Greifswald dissertations by K. Mokross (1908), H. Schreiner (1907), and A. Kneisel (1906) and E. Streblow's *Le Mystère de Semur*, Greifswald, 1905; see also Roy, *op. cit. passim*, Stengel in *Z. F. S. L.*, xxxix² (1906), 165 ff.; and Jeanroy, *Romania*, xxxv (1906), 365 ff., and *Journal des Savants* n. s. iv (1906), 476 ff.

¹⁸ See pp. 479-81.

¹⁹ Cf. Carleton Brown, "The Towneley Play of the Doctors and the Speculum Christiani," *Modern Language Notes*, xxxi, 223, and Hardin Craig, *Two Coventry Corpus Christi Plays*, E. E. T. S., Ext. Ser. 87, p. xxxiii.

²⁰ Marie C. Lyle, *The Original Identity of the York and Townley Cycles*, Research Publications of the University of Minnesota, 1919, vol. 8, no. 3. The views of Hohlfeld, Davidson, Pollard, Gayley and Cady are there summarized and a convenient bibliography for a study of the interrelations between the English cycles has been assembled. In my opinion, however, "identity" does not exclude "borrowing," but presupposes it. Cf. also the relation of the Shrewsbury fragments to the York *Shepherds* (Manly, *Specimens of*

among the religious plays of mediaeval Germany. Their complicated interrelations—their borrowings, revisions, *Doppelfassungen*, etc.—were first comprehensively studied by Ludwig Wirth, and from his discussions and chart not only geographical groups but radiating “spheres of influence” may be detected.²¹

Does this not suggest that in the hundreds of towns and villages of France, England and Germany where there were yearly (sometimes more frequent) performances of certain religious plays—plays whose framework was more or less imposed by their scriptural origin—many of the texts may have been practically replicas of each other? It is possible to assume of course that every town and village, every gild and *puy* had its own text, but from the evidence available it seems to me more likely that when a play was demanded upon a subject whose essentials were within certain limits immutable, the mediæval playwright felt no need of exerting himself unnecessarily, took what he needed where he found it, and devoted whatever talent he possessed to patching, arranging, and supplying such new scenes or extra-Biblical material as might prove striking and successful.²² We may indeed feel fairly confident that often when a Passion or other religious play was instituted in one community, the authorities frankly borrowed a text from elsewhere, perhaps commissioning some local celebrity to better it. Such a text might be repeatedly refurbished through a series of years, and might itself be lent at various stages in its career to other communities.

the Pre-Shakespearean Drama, 1897, I, xxviii ff.), and the situation in the *Ludus Coventriae* (P. M. L. A. xxxv, 324).

²¹ *Die Oster- und Passionsspiele*, Halle, 1889, 120-143. See also Creizenach, *Geschichte des neueren Dramas*, I², 103-15, 224-33.

²² In *Modern Philology*, xv (1918), 565 ff., I attempted to study the *Revisions in the English Mystery Plays*.

Naturally by dint of the modifications introduced by many independent redactors, these plays would come in time to lose some of their earlier points of contact, and accordingly in their scanty remains today it is often difficult to postulate any original connection.

We seem to have, however, in the texts under discussion several versions, each generously revised, which have grown out of the same early archetype, and the application of the theory just advanced to the problem of their interrelations is obvious. If these texts represent the work of several redactors, each intent on remodelling an old play—a play moreover that probably came into the hands of each of them in somewhat different form—then the reasons for their likenesses and dissimilarities are patent. Their evolution involves both “inherited” and “acquired” characteristics. The mediæval clerk commissioned to manufacture their archetype—whether it was the Sion play or its ancestor—turned for his material to the Gospels, to liturgical plays, to stereotyped *Planctus Mariae*, to theological writers; he also turned to the narrative *Passion des Jongleurs*. He arranged, he adapted, he used his humble talents—and a play was evolved. His successors, the clerks who put together the plays preserved in the two manuscripts known as the *Passion d'Autun* and in the Palatine text, repeated the process, relying, however, first and foremost upon the results achieved by their predecessors. They in their turn shifted scenes, revised lines, eliminated and embellished according to their special needs and particular bents.²³ The intentions of the redactor

²³ That neither ms. of the Autun play is an “original” is shown not only by the relation of one to the other, but also by the presence in n. a. fr. 4085 of those narrative passages which have almost obscured its original dramatic form. As M. Jeanroy has said (*Journal des Savants*, 1906, p. 481), “les auteurs des deux manuscrits . . .

responsible for the *Palatine Passion* are readily discovered. He attempted to enliven the old text by curtailing certain scenes, putting others into strophic form,²⁴ and adding new realistic details of his own invention. His taste ran to devils, torturers, executioners and stanzaic structure. In his far humbler way he recalls the genius who refurbished certain plays in the Towneley cycle and thereby made it the most spirited of any of the English

lui ont fait subir deux genres d'altérations précisément contraires, l'un en y intercalant une foule de chevilles et de vers postiches, l'autre en abrégant systématiquement toutes les tirades." That the Palatine ms. is not an "original" is apparent from the manuscript itself, which, as Dr. Christ suggests, was probably intended for the use of readers rather than of actors (*op. cit.* 409). The absence of rubrics, however, is not unique in the French drama, as Dr. Christ believes. Cf. the MS. Bib. Nat. fr. 837 of the *Jeu de la Feuillée* (described in the edition in *Les Classiques français du moyen âge*, p. x). Cf. also the *Auto de los Reyes Magos* (ed. R. Menéndez Pidal, *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos*, Madrid, 1900, p. 453).

²⁴ Dr. Christ fails to note how elaborate the stanzaic structure actually is. His analysis (*op. cit.*, p. 415-6) should be expanded and emended to include: (1) the octosyllabic stanzas of various forms in the *Descensus* scenes, i. e. ll. 1279-90 (aab ccb bbb bba), 1291-1303 (aab aab bba bba[a]), 1304-11 (abab abab)—this is cited by Christ, 1312-20 ([a]aabb ccaa), 1345-54 ([a]abab abab[b]), 1385-95 ([a]aabba abbaa), 1396-1401 (aab aab), 1402-9 (aabb aabb), 1410-19 (aabba abbaa), 1420-8 ([a]abab abec); (2) the double decasyllabic *seizain* containing the same rhymes in both halves, each half, however, preceded by an octosyllabic *quatrain monorime*, 1785-1824:

xxxx^a abab becb dede effe¹⁰

ffff^a aabb becb dede edde¹⁰

(3) the decasyllabic couplets, 923-6. Probably strophic in intention are also ll. 1977-86 (aabbb ecbcc), 1989-96 (aabb aacc), and possibly 1951-63 (aabbbaaccedd) and 1914-24 (aabbaacxaaa). The (irregular) *seizains*, 35-52 are rhymed: aab ccb, aab bbc, aab bcc. Note also that the decasyllabic *Planctus* beginning l. 1071 exhibits stanzaic structure to l. 1087 (form somewhat uncertain, probably aba bbe cdd dde edd dd), from which to l. 1115 it continues in couplets with lines of varying lengths (six, seven and eight syllables).

cycles. That his distinctive innovations lent themselves to further use will be seen from a comparison of the Palatine text with some of the later French plays, notably with the *Passion de Semur*.

With the so-called Anglo-Norman *Résurrection*,²⁵ the *Passion d'Amboise*,²⁶ and the two plays on the Passion and Resurrection conserved in the Sainte-Geneviève manuscript,²⁷ the *Palatine Passion* has practically nothing in common except the scriptural background. The *Passion de Semur*,²⁸ however, belongs to the same general group as our text, despite certain borrowings from the *Passion Sainte-Geneviève*.²⁹ It is, to be sure, a much more highly

²⁵ Monmerqué et Michel, *Théâtre français au moyen âge*, Paris, 1839, pp. 11 ff. It has no connection with the thirteenth-century fragment of a *Résurrection* published by P. Meyer in *Romania* XXXIII (1904), 240-1.

²⁶ E. Picot, *Fragments inédits de mystères de la Passion*, *Romania* XIX (1890), 260 ff. There are in these fragments (known as the *Amboise Passion*) a few verbal resemblances to the Palatine text, but that they are fortuitous is obvious. Similarly, the fact that in both texts the thirty pieces of silver are counted out and the Crucifixion is accomplished upon the raised cross (rather than upon a cross which is later raised) must be ascribed to a common tradition and not to a common source.

²⁷ Jubinal, *Mystères inédits du XVe siècle*, Paris, 1837, II, 139 ff.; 312 ff. M. Roy, *op. cit.* 55* ff., has justly said that the Sainte-Geneviève plays do not derive from the *Passion des Jongleurs*.

²⁸ E. Roy, *Le Mystère de la Passion en France*, 73* ff.

²⁹ The supplementary sources of the Passion have been investigated by M. Roy. He overstates, however, the influence of the *Passion Sainte-Geneviève* upon the Semur play. The parallels cited by him at the foot of page 87* and extending through p. 88* are unconvincing, and although the six lines of the Apothecarius' speech (p. 87*) and the twenty-one lines of the Veronica incident are certain evidence of relationship, it can hardly be said that "la Passion de Semur n'est qu'un développement de la Passion Sainte-Geneviève" (p. 91*), or that it is "une simple imitation de la Passion Sainte-Geneviève" (p. 69*). These statements have been questioned by others. See Christ, *op. cit.* 415.

developed play, and has been extended not only to cover many more events but padded so as to treat those included at considerably greater length. In other words, it is a revised and composite work.

M. Roy recognized the dependence of the *Passion de Semur* upon the old *Passion des Jongleurs*³⁰ and M. Jeanroy has pointed out resemblances between it and the *Autun Passion*.³¹ Whether it used the narrative poem directly or through some intermediate dramatic source, itself derived from the poem, cannot be stated, although the second hypothesis seems the more likely. It resembles the *Palatine Passion* in scenes not present in the poem, and it resembles the poem in scenes not present in the *Palatine Passion*, but since a text incorporating all such scenes is not at hand we are left to conjecture. That, however, the *Passion de Semur* belongs to the Palatine and not to the Autun branch of the general tradition can, I think, be shown. The only incidents not included in the old narrative poem (a potential common source) which occur in the Semur and Autun texts but which do not appear in the Palatine play are the singing in the scene at the smith's—a minor detail—and the representation of the Crucifixion as taking place on a cross which is later elevated, instead of upon a cross already in position,³² a late addition in the Autun version since it occurs only in a narrative passage

³⁰ *Op. cit.* p. 85*.

³¹ *Journal des Savants*, 1906, p. 488. Note also his conclusion (p. 490) that the *Passion de Semur* is composed of fragments arbitrarily bound together.

³² Roy, *op. cit.* p. 85*, note 4, and *supra*, note 13, end. The narrative poem and the Palatine and Amboise texts conserve the earlier tradition regarding the Crucifixion. See Christ, *op. cit.* p. 480, note to ll. 878-926. This is one of the many instances in which the narrative passages of the Autun text are strikingly at variance with the narrative poem.

of MS. n. a. fr. 4085. At all other points the similarities between the Semur and Autun texts can be accounted for by passages in the old narrative poem and the tradition common to the Autun and Palatine plays.³³

This, however, is not the case in the parallels of phrase and incident found in the Semur and Palatine *Passions*. The more striking points of contact between the two plays, none of which emanates from the old poem or is present in the Autun version, are as follows: Pal. ll. 155-7 = Semur 6190-2; Pal. 249-258 = Sem. 6296-6307; Pal. 269-72 = Sem. 6311-16; Pal. 469-70 = Sem. 6639-40; Pal. 752-3 = Sem. 6992-3; Pal. 778-80 = Sem. 7091-3; the presence in both texts of the greetings of the *pueri Hebreorum* (Pal. 35 ff., Sem. 5567 ff.), the angel's words in the Garden of Gethsemane (Pal. 184-91, Sem. 6229 ff.), the missing pieces of silver (Pal. 211 ff., Sem. 6070 ff.), the scene where Pilate washes his hands (Pal. 742 ff., Sem. 6980 ff.),³⁴ the counting of the blows at the execution (Pal. 915 ff., Sem. 7424 ff.), and the scoffing at Jesus as a confessor of women (Pal. 946; Sem. 7415).

It is apparent, therefore, that the acquired characteristics of the Palatine version were transmitted. It can not be affirmed, however, that the redactor of the Semur *Passion* actually knew the very text preserved to us in the Palatine manuscript. Indeed if he had, he could hardly have refrained, one would think, from borrowing certain

³³ In such scenes as the bearing of the cross and the Veronica incident, which are not in the Palatine version but occur in the *Passion des Jongleurs*, the *Passion de Semur* and the *Passion d'Autun*, there are no independent verbal parallels between the Autun and the Semur texts.

³⁴ Dr. Christ attributes ll. 742-4 to *Li sergens* and ll. 745 ff. to *Pilates*, but both the context and the *Passion de Semur* seem to indicate that *Joel* speaks ll. 742-7, to which ll. 748 ff. are Pilate's reply.

passages of the *diablerie*, instead of resorting to a rather conventional treatment of the subject based more directly upon the *Gospel of Nicodemus*. Tastes may differ, but it also seems to me that the Palatine Spice-merchant (ll. 1864 ff.) is a more engaging figure and exhibits more alluring charms than either of the Apothecarii in the Semur play (ll. 4872 ff., 8171 ff.). Be that as it may, it can hardly be doubted that the *Passion de Semur* incorporates certain elements taken from a group of plays strongly influenced by the old narrative poem, and that it belongs to the branch of that group represented by the Palatine rather than the Autun tradition.

An investigation of the relation of the *Palatine Passion* to the *Passions* included in the fully developed plays by Greban, Marcadé, Michel, etc., leads to no satisfactory results. The stages in the development of these great dramas have been traced by others, their derivations in large part established,³⁵ and they have all progressed so far from their origins that by extracting a few lines here and there reminiscent of the archaically simple plays which we have been considering one can submit no convincing proof of relationship.³⁶ That, however, the authors of these later plays unsparingly appropriated the work of their predecessors has long been recognized.

The custom of pouring old wine into new bottles, therefore, proves to have been practised from the earliest to the

³⁵ Cf. note 17, *supra*.

³⁶ It is noteworthy, however, that Greban, like the author of the *Palatine Passion* (and Rutebeuf in the *Miracle de Theophile*), rhymes *aaa'b'*, a stanzaic form unknown to the other French *Passion* plays. Cf. H. Chatelain, *Recherches sur le vers français au XV^e siècle*, Paris, 1908, pp. 87-8. (Chatelain's examples taken from Greban's *Passion* and erroneously entered under the caption *aaa'b'* should be included with those from the same work correctly cited as rhyming *aaa'b'.*)

latest times. Just as the two Valenciennes *Passions* represent a mosaic of passages deriving from older plays (Greban's and Michel's *Passions*, the *Passion d'Arras*, two *mystères* portraying the life of the Virgin, the *Mystère du Viel Testament*, and unknown compilations made from these),³⁷ so it can be shown by comparing the *Palatine Passion* with the various texts related to it that this earliest of French Passion plays is itself a composite work. Traces of the popular *Passion des Jongleurs*, of an earlier play or plays, and of later additions and revisions can all be detected in the text that has survived. Moreover, the same process of borrowing and redacting that evolved the *Palatine Passion* was employed in the production of the two versions of the *Passion d'Autun* and of the *Passion de Semur*, and it is to this process, I believe, that most of the similarities and dissimilarities apparent in these texts are to be attributed.

GRACE FRANK.

³⁷ See especially B. Koeppen, *op. cit.* p. 13.

APPENDIX

PROCEEDINGS OF THE THIRTY-SIXTH MEETING OF THE
MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION
OF AMERICA
(FOURTH UNION MEETING)
HELD ON THE INVITATION OF THE
OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY AT COLUMBUS, OHIO
MARCH 29, 30, 31, 1920

MINUTES OF THE TWENTY-FIRST ANNUAL MEETING
OF THE
PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE PACIFIC COAST
HELD AT
SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.
NOVEMBER 28 AND 29, 1919

THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

MEETING OF THE ASSOCIATION

The thirty-sixth meeting of the MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA (fourth Union Meeting) was held under the auspices of the Ohio State University at Columbus, Ohio, March 29, 30, 31, 1920, in accordance with the following invitation:

THE OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY
COLUMBUS

November 29, 1918.

Professor WILLIAM G. HOWARD,
Secretary of the Modern Language Association,
39 Kirkland Street,
Cambridge, Mass.

Dear Sir:—

On behalf of the Modern Language Departments of the University, I wish to extend to the Modern Language Association of America a very hearty invitation to hold the next regular union meeting, December, 1919,¹ in Columbus. We should feel it a great privilege to welcome the members of the Association again to our Campus.

Very truly yours,

W. O. THOMPSON.

The sessions were held on the first and the third day at the Hotel Deshler, and on the second day in buildings of the Ohio State University.

¹ Shortage of coal and restrictions on travel in the late fall of 1919 had led the Executive Council of the Association, in agreement with the authorities of the University, to postpone the meeting from December, 1919, to March, 1920.

FIRST SESSION, MONDAY, MARCH 29

Ball Room of the Hotel Deshler

The Association was called to order by the President, Professor Edward C. Armstrong, at 3.38 p. m. It was welcomed to Columbus by President William Oxley Thompson, of the Ohio State University.

The Secretary of the Association, Professor W. G. Howard, presented as his report volumes XXXIII and XXXIV of the *Publications* of the Association, and the report was unanimously accepted.

The Secretary, calling attention to the increasing cost of printing, declared that in his opinion an increase in the rate of subscription to the *Publications* would be unavoidable, unless five hundred members were immediately added to the roll of the Association; and upon his motion it was unanimously

Voted: that the Executive Council be authorized, at its discretion, to increase in 1921 and thereafter the subscription to the *Publications* of the Association by an amount not exceeding one dollar.

The Secretary pointed out that since 1904 the number of members of the Association had more than doubled, and reported the geographical distribution of members in December, 1915 and December, 1919 as follows:

	Dec. 1915	Dec. 1919
New England.....	248	275
Middle Atlantic States.....	366	439
Middle West.....	335	373
South.....	122	166
Far West.....	145	193
Canada.....	16	19
Europe.....	8	16
Asia.....	1	6
South America.....	1	0
	<hr/> 1242	<hr/> 1487

The Treasurer of the Association, Professor W. G. Howard, presented the following report:

A. CURRENT RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES

RECEIPTS

Balance on hand December 27, 1918,	-	-	-	-	\$ 154 61
From Members for 1914,	-	-	-	\$	3 00
“ “ “ 1915,	-	-	-		3 00
“ “ “ 1916,	-	-	-		12 00
“ “ “ 1917,	-	-	-		54 00
“ “ “ 1918,	-	-	-		204 20
“ “ “ 1919,	-	-	-		3,325 41
“ “ “ 1920,	-	-	-		163 00
“ “ “ Life,	-	-	-		85 00
					<u>\$3,849 61</u>
From Libraries, for I-XXXII,	-	\$	140 20		
“ “ “ XXXIII,	-		8 40		
“ “ “ XXXIV,	-		207 90		
“ “ “ XXXV,	-		140 40		
“ “ “ XXXVI,	-		2 70		
					<u>499 60</u>
From Buyers, for I-XXXII,	-	\$	137 98		
“ “ “ XXXIII,	-		12 90		
“ “ “ XXXIV,	-		10 10		
“ “ “ XXXV,	-		2 70		
					<u>163 68</u>
For Plate in XXXI,	-	\$	12 50		
“ Reprints, XXXIV,	-		12 00		
“ Corrections, XXXIV,	-		18 00		
					<u>42 50</u>
For Index, I-XXXIII,	-	-	-	-	375 00
For Membership, M. H. R. A.,	-	-	-	-	47 00
Rebate, American Railway Express,	-	-	-	-	1 18
From Advertisers, XXXIII,	-	\$	97 50		
“ “ XXXIV,	-		32 50		
					<u>130 00</u>
Interest, Cambridge Savings Bank,	-	-	-	-	66 08
“ Permanent Fund,	-	\$	264 13		
“ Liberty Bonds,	-		25 25		
“ Charles River Trust Co.,	-		27 23		
					<u>316 61</u>
					<u>5,491 26</u>
					<u>\$5,645 87</u>

EXPENDITURES

To Secretary, for Salary	-	-	\$	750	00
" " " Bond,	-	-		12	50
" " " Printing,	-	-		72	75
" " " Postage,	-	-		151	10
" " " Expressage,	-	-		22	83
" " " Council,	-	-		33	18
					<hr/>
					\$1,042 36
To Secretary, Central Division,					
for Salary,	-	-	-	-	100 00
To Chairman, Central Division,					
for Telegrams,	-	-	-	-	1 81
To W. A. Neilson, Managing Trustee,	-	-	-	-	90 00
To Treasurer, M. H. R. A., for Dues,	\$	18	31		
" " " " Letter,		25	00		
					<hr/>
					43 31
To W. Kurrelmeyer, for <i>Index</i> , XXXIV,	-	-		10	00
To W. Kurrelmeyer, for <i>Index</i> , I-XXXIII,	-	-		200	00
For Printing <i>Index</i> , I-XXXIII,	-	-		442	50
For <i>Publications</i> , XXIII-XXXIII,	-	-		11	80
For Printing Programme,	-	-		301	60
For Identification Tags,	-	-		3	50
For Printing <i>Publications</i> ,					
XXXIV, 1,	-	-	\$	831	94
XXXIV, 2,	-	-		839	19
XXXIV, 3,	-	-		832	83
XXXIV, 4,	-	-		824	46
					<hr/>
					3,328 42
For Exchange,	-	-	-	-	87
					<hr/>
					5,576 17
Balance on hand, December 31, 1919,	-	-	-	-	69 70
					<hr/>
					\$5,645 87

B. INVESTED FUNDS

Bright Fund (Eutaw Savings Bank),									
Principal, Dec. 27, 1918,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	\$ 1,509	78
Interest, April 1, 1919,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	67	73
									<hr/> \$1,577 51
von Jagemann Fund (Cambridge Savings Bank),									
Principal, Dec. 27, 1918,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	\$ 1,452	40
Interest, July 24, 1919, withdrawn,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	66	08
Principal, Dec. 31, 1919,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,452	40
Liberty Bonds,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	600	00
									<hr/>
Total, Dec. 31, 1919,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	\$3,629	91
Total, Dec. 27, 1918,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3,562	18
									<hr/>
Increase,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	\$	67 73

C. BALANCE SHEET, 1919

Decrease, Current Funds,	-	-	-	-	\$	84	91	
Increase, Invested Funds,	-	-	-	-				67 73
Added to Permanent Fund,	-	-	-	-				90 00
								<hr/>
					\$	157	73	
Net Increase,	-	-	-	-	-			72 82

D. RESOURCES, 1915 AND 1919

Current Funds,	-	-	\$ 630 61	\$ 69 70	\$ 560 91*
Bright Fund,	-	-	1,941 88	1,577 51	364 37*
von Jagemann Fund,	-	-	1,366 12	1,452 40	86 28
Liberty Bonds,	-	-	600 00	600 00
Permanent Fund,	-	-	6,765 00	7,210 00	445 00
			<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Net Increase,	-	-			\$ 206 00
* Decrease.					

E. RESOURCES, 1904 AND 1919

Current Funds, Dec. 31, 1919, - - - -	\$ 69 70
Bright Fund, Dec. 31, 1919, - - - -	1,577 51
von Jagemann Fund, Dec. 31, 1919, - - - -	1,452 40
Liberty Bonds, Dec. 31, 1919, - - - -	600 00
Permanent Fund, Dec. 31, 1919, - - - -	7,210 00
	<hr/>
	10,909 61
Cash on hand, Dec. 27, 1904, - - - -	2,488 27
	<hr/>
Increase, - - - - -	\$8,421 34

On motion of the Treasurer it was unanimously

Voted: that the action of the Treasurer in remitting the dues of such members of the Association as have been absent on Government service and during the years of their absence received none of the *Publications* of the Association, be approved.

The Secretary read the following communication from the Modern Language Club of the University of Minnesota, and on his motion it was referred to the Executive Council:

The Modern Language Club of the University of Minnesota respectfully invites the attention of the Executive Council of the Modern Language Association of America to the following recommendations and suggestions:

Resolved: that in order to stimulate interest in the meetings of the Modern Language Association and to bring the program up to the level attained by the other important learned societies:

1. That the Executive Council be urged to consider means to improve the program and to bring it about that the more distinguished scholars in the organization attend and take part more frequently.

2. That if the following suggestions, looking toward this end, meet with their approval, the Executive Council submit them with such modifications or additions as in their judgment seems wise to the Association itself:

A. That a committee on program be appointed, one member or more for English, one or more for Germanic Languages, and one or more for Romance Languages, in addition to the Secretary, who shall be Chairman.

- B. That papers offered be submitted first to the appropriate member or members for the particular field of interest concerned, and be accepted by the Committee (or Secretary) only upon the recommendation of this sub-committee.
- C. That the Committee on Program should require that abstracts of papers offered for its consideration be more extensive and detailed than those to be printed in the program, in order that the papers may be more adequately judged.
- D. That one paper or more each year be read on invitation by the committee and be so designated, as a mark of distinction and honor. There might, at each annual session, be one such paper in English, one in Germanic Languages and Literatures, and one in Romance Languages and Literatures.
- E. That the Association be no longer split into Eastern and Central Divisions but meet as a whole.

J. M. THOMAS, *President*.

COLBERT SEARLES, *Secretary*.

On motion of the Secretary it was unanimously

Voted: that the Secretary of the Association and the Secretary of the Central Division be authorized at their discretion to omit from their respective programmes the summaries of papers accepted for the annual meetings.

The Secretary made the following announcements on behalf of two members at the University of Chicago:

Professor T. P. Cross, with the co-operation of the members of the Modern Language staff of the University of Chicago, has recently published a short introduction to the bibliography of bibliographies of English literary history and allied subjects. The preparation of the book was necessitated by the notorious lack of bibliographical helps to the study of English literature. As the work is designed primarily for the use of graduate students and other beginners in research, the compilers have striven to include only the most important and comprehensive sources. A second edition is now in preparation. In order that this may be as useful as possible, the compiler will be glad to send copies of the first edition to such members of the Modern Language Association as are interested, and will receive with gratitude suggestions for corrections and other improvements.

Those present at the 1920 meeting of the Modern Language Association of America are asked to make note of a bibliographi-

cal project lately begun by a fellow member. It is the intention of David H. Stevens, assistant professor of English at the University of Chicago, to complete a critical bibliography of materials referring to the writings of Milton. The announcement is made in order to invite correspondence with any member who may have begun such a comprehensive study, that there may be no duplication of effort, and to ask for contributions of miscellaneous data from all who are interested in the particular field.

On behalf of President W. A. Neilson, Managing Trustee of the Permanent Fund, the Secretary reported that the Fund amounted on Dec. 31, 1919 to \$7210.

On motion of the Secretary it was unanimously

Voted: that the Committee on the Reproduction of Early Texts be continued.

On motion of the Secretary it was unanimously

Voted: that the representation of this Association on the Committee on Grammatical Nomenclature be continued.

For the Committee on Romance Language Instruction and the War Professor E. H. Wilkins, Chairman, reported briefly; his full report was ordered to be printed; and it was unanimously

Voted: that the report be accepted and the committee discharged, with the thanks of the Association, especially to the Chairman.

The Chair announced the appointment of the following committees:

To nominate officers: Professors Kenneth McKenzie, G. O. Curme, C. H. Grandgent, Gustav Gruener, W. W. Lawrence, Louise Pound, and Karl Young.

To audit the report of the Treasurer: Professors C. B. Wilson, Samuel Moore, and H. A. Smith.

On resolutions: Professors O. F. Emerson, E. W. Olmsted, and R. J. Kellogg.

The reading of papers was then begun.

1. "Pact and Wager in Goethe's *Faust*." By Professor Alexander R. Hohlfeld, of the University of Wisconsin.

2. "Dante and Mediæval Heresy." By Professor Alfonso de Salvio, of Northwestern University.

At eight o'clock in the evening of Monday, December 29, the President of the Association, Professor Edward C. Armstrong, of Princeton University, delivered in the Ball Room of the Hotel Deshler an address entitled "Taking Counsel with Candide."

After this address there was an informal reception for the members and guests of the Association given by The Ohio State University.

SECOND SESSION, TUESDAY, MARCH 30

For the second session the Association met at The Ohio State University, in three sections devoted respectively to English, Romance, and Germanic Philology.

ENGLISH SECTION

Home Economics Auditorium

Chairman: Professor Arthur C. L. Brown, of Northwestern University.

Secretary: Professor G. H. McKnight, of the Ohio State University.

The meeting was called to order at 9.50 a. m.

At the suggestion of the Chairman it was moved and voted that the Chair appoint a committee of three to nominate a presiding officer for the English Section at the next meeting of the Central Division; and the Chair

appointed Professors T. P. Cross, O. J. Campbell, and A. H. Upham.

Professor O. F. Emerson moved that the Chair appoint a committee to arrange for American coöperation with English learned societies, especially the Early English Tert Society, in the future publication of texts; and the motion was carried.

The reading of papers was then begun.

3. "Spenser and the Courts of Love." By Professor Earle Broadus Fowler, of the University of Louisville.

4. "Sentimental Morality in Wordsworth's Narrative Poems." By Professor Oscar James Campbell, of the University of Wisconsin.

5. "The Loss of Grammatical Gender in Middle English." By Professor Samuel Moore, of the University of Michigan.

6. "The Dative of Time How Long in Old English." By Professor Morgan Callaway, Jr., of the University of Texas.

7. "The Politics of the Greater Romantic Poets." By Professor Walter Graham, of Western Reserve University.

8. "Did Chaucer Know Valerius Flaccus?" By Professor Edgar F. Shannon, of Washington and Lee University.

9. "The Indian Legend of Hiawatha." By Professor Stith Thompson, of Colorado College.

ROMANCE SECTION

University Library, Room 107

Chairman: Professor Alfonso de Salvio, of Northwestern University.

Secretary: Professor H. G. Doyle, of the George Washington University.

10. "The New Manuscripts of Gautier's *Ille et Galeron*." By Professor Frederick A. G. Cowper, of Trinity College, North Carolina.

11. "Quevedo, Guevara, Le Sage, and the *Tatler*." By Professor William S. Hendrix, of the University of Texas.

12. "The Literary Relations of Botticelli's *Calumny*." By Professor Rudolph Altrocchi, of the University of Chicago.

13. "The problem of 'eternal damnation' in Dante and Rousseau." By Dr. Joseph I. Cheskis, of the University of Michigan.

14. "Dante's Narrative of Ulysses' Voyage and the Discovery of America." By Dr. Angelo Lipari, of the University of Toronto.

15. "Les premières relations intellectuelles entre la France et l'Amérique." By Professor Gilbert Chinard, of the Johns Hopkins University.

Professor H. P. Thieme, of the University of Michigan, urged support of the forthcoming volume in honor of Professor Gustave Lanson.

GERMANIC SECTION

University Library, Room 106

Chairman: Professor Charles H. Handschin, of Miami University.

16. "A Contribution to the study of the *Béowulf* Codex." By Dr. Stanley I. Rypins, of the University of Minnesota.

17. "A Suggested System of Precise Etymological Symbols." By Professor Robert James Kellogg, of Denison University.

18. "Music in Anzengruber's Plays." By Professor Bayard Quincy Morgan, of the University of Wisconsin.

19. "Poetry, Prose, and Rhythm." By Professor Claude M. Lotspeich, of the University of Cincinnati.

At one o'clock on Tuesday, December 30, luncheon was served to members of the Association in the Ohio Union by the Ohio State University.

THIRD SESSION, TUESDAY, MARCH 30

The third session was administered by the officers of the Central Division. Like all sessions it was open to all members of the Association, but afforded opportunity for the transaction of business of the Division.

The meeting was called to order at 3 p. m. by the Chairman of the Division, Professor Bert J. Vos, of Indiana University.

The Secretary of the Division, Professor B. E. Young, of Vanderbilt University, made a brief report on the work of the Division since the last meeting in 1917.

Professor H. A. Smith, of the University of Wisconsin, reported for the Committee on the Modern Language Scholarship Society that the interest shown by the membership of the Division did not seem at present to warrant launching the enterprise. He moved that the committee be thanked for its labors and discharged, which motion was passed.

The Chairman appointed the following committees to select chairmen for the sectional meetings on instruction, December, 1920: *Germanic*: R. J. Kellogg, of Denison University; C. B. Wilson, of the University of Iowa; G. P. Jackson, of Vanderbilt University. *Romance*: S. H. Bush, of the University of Iowa; E. C. Hills, of Indiana University; H. P. Thieme, of the University of Michigan. *English*: (This section had already elected its chairman).

The Committee on Nomination of New Officers and on the Place of Next Meeting, Professor Evans, Chairman, brought in the following nominations:

For Chairman: Professor Bert J. Vos, of Indiana University, for reelection, circumstances having prevented any session of the Division since his election.

For Secretary: Professor B. E. Young, of Vanderbilt University.

For the Executive Committee: To serve until December, 1920, C. R. Baskervill, of the University of Chicago; to serve until 1921, Barry Cerf, of the University of Wisconsin; to serve until 1922, Hermann Almstedt, of the University of Missouri.

The Committee reported that it had received invitations to entertain the next meeting from several institutions.

In view of various questions involved, the Committee asked to leave the decision of the whole matter to the Executive Committee. Upon motion, the Secretary was instructed to cast the ballot of the Division for the report, and the said report with its recommendations was declared adopted.

The reading of papers was then begun.

20. "Finn and the Goblin." By Professor Arthur C. L. Brown, of Northwestern University.

21. "University Work of the Army Detachment in Paris, March to July, 1919." By Professor Stephen H. Bush, of the State University of Iowa.

22. "Un exemple d'influence française en Angleterre au XIX^e siècle." By Professor Marcel Moraud, of the University of Toronto.

23. "The Religion of the *Nouvelle Héloïse*." By Professor George R. Havens, of the Ohio State University.

24. "The Beginnings of Book-reviewing in English Periodicals." By Professor Roger Philip McCutcheon, of Denison University.

At seven o'clock in the evening of Tuesday, December 30, the ladies of the Association were entertained at dinner in the Hotel Deshler.

At half-past eight o'clock in the evening of Tuesday, December 30, the gentlemen of the Association were invited to a smoker in the Ball Room of the Hotel Deshler. A smoke talk was given by Professor Joseph Villiers Denney, of the Ohio State University.

FOURTH SESSION, WEDNESDAY, MARCH 31

Parlors of the Hotel Deshler

The session began at 9.45 a. m.

On behalf of the Executive Council the Secretary moved to amend Article III of the Constitution by adding as Section 2 (the following Sections thereby becoming respectively 3, 4, and 5) these provisions:

Members of other societies of scholars or teachers may be admitted either to membership in the Association, or to affiliation with the same, upon such terms as the Executive Council shall from time to time determine. Members of other societies so admitted to membership in the Association shall have all the rights and privileges pertaining thereto; persons admitted to affiliation with the Association shall have such rights and privileges as may be mutually agreed upon, but not the right to vote or to hold office in the Association.

The Secretary's motion was unanimously adopted and the Constitution amended accordingly.

Upon motion of the Secretary it was unanimously

Voted: that the Articles of Agreement between the Modern Language Association of America and the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast printed in *Publications*, xxxii, 1, pp. vi and vii, and already provisionally in force between the two Associations, be ratified.

On behalf of the Executive Council the Secretary nominated Professor Alfred Morel-Fatio and Sir Walter Raleigh for Honorary Membership in the Association, and they were unanimously elected.

On behalf of the Executive Council the Secretary moved that the Association ratify the constitution of the American Council of Learned Societies Devoted to Humanistic Studies, elect delegates thereto, and appropriate annually such sum as may be due to the treasury of said American Council, the dues for the current year being

five cents for each active member of the Association enrolled on January 1, 1920; and the motion was unanimously adopted.

The Secretary nominated as Delegates to the aforesaid American Council, to serve respectively for two years and for four years from January first, 1920, Professors Edward C. Armstrong, of Princeton University, and John Erskine, of Columbia University; and they were unanimously elected Delegates.

On behalf of Professor Charles H. Grandgent, of Harvard University, Professor Oliver F. Emerson, of Western Reserve University, moved:

That the simplifications recommended in the leaflet of the Simplified Spelling Board entitled "Reasons and Rules for Simplified Spelling," be adopted for official use by the Modern Language Association.

Professor E. W. Olmsted, of the University of Minnesota, moved as a substitute therefor:

That the Association abandon the use of simplified spelling.

The substitution having been agreed to, Professor Emerson moved as an amendment:

That the question of the use or abandonment of simplified spelling be submitted to a referendum.

Professor J. M. Thomas moved to lay this motion upon the table. Professor Thomas's motion having prevailed, the question of adopting Professor Olmsted's substitute motion was put, and the Association

Voted: to abandon the use of simplified spelling.

On motion of the Secretary the Association

Voted: to become an associate member of the American Council on

Education and to appropriate annually for the payment of dues to the same the sum of ten dollars.

On behalf of a committee appointed by the Executive Council to coöperate with a committee of the National Federation of Modern Language Teachers, and consisting of Professors E. H. Wilkins, *Chairman*, H. H. Bender, R. H. Fife, E. C. Hills, and B. E. Young, Professor Wilkins proposed the following Resolutions:

Whereas, the results of the war have brought this country more closely into relation with foreign countries than was previously the case, be it *resolved*:

(1) That, in view of the fact that many more Americans than hitherto will go to foreign countries in diplomatic service, in commercial enterprises, and on economic, scientific, educational, and other missions, that many more foreigners than hitherto will come here on similar errands, and that international correspondence on such matters will assume greatly increased proportions, it is urgently desirable that a much larger number of Americans than hitherto be trained to understand and to use the languages of the foreign countries with which we shall be most closely associated;

(2) That, in view of the fact that the men and women of America should henceforth seriously endeavor to understand the psychology, the problems and the achievement of the main foreign peoples, it is urgently desirable that a large proportion of high school and college students should secure such a knowledge of the main foreign languages as will enable them to gain this understanding; and

(3) That the study of modern foreign languages should in general be begun earlier and continued longer than is now usually the case; that is, that the average student whose course is to end with the high school should study one foreign language for at least three years, and that the average student whose course continues into college should have at least three years of modern foreign language work in high school and at least three years more in college.

The foregoing Resolutions were unanimously adopted and the committee was discharged.

Professor C. B. Wilson reporting for the Auditing Com-

mittee that the Treasurer's accounts had been found correct, it was unanimously

Voted: that the Treasurer's report be accepted.

On behalf of the Committee on Resolutions Professor O. F. Emerson reported as follows:

Resolved: that we express to President W. O. Thompson, to the Ohio State University, and to its Local Committee our hearty appreciation of their gracious welcome and hospitable entertainment during the present meeting of the Modern Language Association of America.

The Resolution was adopted by a rising vote.

The Chair announced that committees on nominations in the Central Division proposed as Chairmen of the Sections of the Division in 1920: for English, Professor O. F. Emerson; for Romance Languages, Professor R. P. Jameson; for German, Professor B. Q. Morgan; and the gentlemen named were unanimously elected to their several offices.

On behalf of the Nominating Committee of the Association Professor Kenneth McKenzie presented the following candidates:

President: J. M. Manly, University of Chicago.

Vice-Presidents: M. B. Evans, Ohio State University, Morgan Callaway, Jr., University of Texas; F. B. Lوقيens, Yale University.

Secretary-Treasurer: Carleton Brown, University of Minnesota.

Editorial Committee: H. C. Lancaster, Johns Hopkins University; J. L. Lowes, Harvard University; E. H. Mensel, Smith College.

Executive Council: O. F. Emerson, Western Reserve University; R. H. Fife, Columbia University; James

Geddes, Jr., Boston University; T. A. Jenkins, University of Chicago; Louise Pound, University of Nebraska; H. K. Schilling, University of California; H. A. Smith, University of Wisconsin.

The Secretary was instructed to cast one ballot for the nominees, and they were declared elected to their several offices, the President and the Vice-Presidents for the year 1920, the other officers to serve until the next Union Meeting.

On motion of Professor McKenzie it was unanimously

Voted: that Professor W. G. Howard, of Harvard University, be authorized to act as Secretary-Treasurer for Professor Carleton Brown until such time (not later than October 1, 1920) as Professor Brown shall be able to enter upon his duties.

On motion of Professor E. W. Olmsted the thanks of the Association were expressed by a rising vote to Professor W. G. Howard for his long and efficient service as Secretary and Treasurer.

The reading of papers was then resumed.

25. "The Origin of the Colloquial Nasals for *Yes* and *No*." By Professor Fred Newton Scott, of the University of Michigan.

26. "Mark Twain's Humor; a Study in Literary Influences." By Professor Olin H. Moore, of Northwestern University.

During the reading of this and the two following papers Professor F. N. Scott occupied the chair.

27. "Bowdlerized Versions of Hardy." By Professor Joseph Warren Beach, of the University of Minnesota.

28. "Some Indications that *The Tempest* was re-

vised." By Professor Henry David Gray, of Leland Stanford Junior University.

29. "Corneille's *Illusion Comique* and the Stage Decorators' *Mémoire*." By Professor H. Carrington Lancaster, of the Johns Hopkins University.

At 1 p. m. the Association adjourned.

PAPERS READ BY TITLE

The following papers, presented to the Association, were read by title only:

30. "Milton and the Psalms." By Professor Edward Chauncey Baldwin, of the University of Illinois.

31. "The *Schwanritter* Myth." By Professor Philip S. Barto, of the Carnegie Institute of Technology.

32. "The Tide of Tragedy in Molière." By Professor M. C. Baudin, of Miami University.

33. "An Essay in Critical Biography: Charles Churchill." By Dr. Joseph Moorhead Beatty, Jr., of Goucher College.

34. "Contemporary Opinion of Poe." By Professor Killis Campbell, of the University of Texas.

35. "England's Remembrancer." By Professor Evert Mordecai Clark, of the University of Texas.

36. "The Kinship of Hazlitt and Stevenson." By Professor Evert Mordecai Clark, of the University of Texas.

37. "Golding's England." By Professor Carey H. Conley, of Wesleyan University, Connecticut.

38. "Amadas et Ydoine." By Professor Frederick A. G. Cowper, of Trinity College, North Carolina.

39. "Chaucer's Miller and Reve." By Professor Walter Clyde Curry, of Vanderbilt University.

40. "Villegas and the Moorish tale: *Historia del Abencerraje y la hermosa Jarifa*." By Professor George Irving Dale, of Washington University.

41. "Did Johnson Parody Gray?" By Professor George B. Denton, of Northwestern University.

42. "Order and Progress in *Paradise Lost*." By Professor William Haller, of Columbia University.

43. "Group C of the Canterbury Tales." By Mr. Henry B. Hinckley, of New Haven, Conn.

44. "Blood Brotherhood in Early Irish Literature." By Professor John C. Hodges, of the Ohio Wesleyan University.

45. "Three-partedness in Strophic Form." By Professor George Pullen Jackson, of Vanderbilt University.
46. "Dramatic Compositions in America." By Dr. George C. Keidel, of the Library of Congress.
47. "The *Sainete*—a Distinct and Characteristic *Genre* of Eighteenth-Century Spain." By Miss Edythe Grace Kelly, of the College for Women, Western Reserve University.
48. "Chaucer's Knight." By Professor E. P. Kuhl, of Goucher College.
49. "Sidelights on Early American Literary Taste." By Professor Robert Adger Law, of the University of Texas.
50. "Return to Nature as an Artistic Motive in Renaissance Satire." By Professor Jesse F. Mack, of Oberlin College.
51. "The *Ludus Coventriae* and the Digby *Massacre*." By Professor Howard R. Patch, of Smith College.
52. "A New Essay on Projects." By Professor Milton Percival, of the Ohio State University.
53. "Structural Repetition in the English and Scottish Ballads." By Professor Louise Pound, of the University of Nebraska.
54. "English *give* and *yield*." By Professor Eduard Prokosch, of Bryn Mawr College.
55. "Irish Influence in the *West-Saxon Psalms*." By Professor Robert L. Ramsay, of the University of Missouri.
56. "Paradox and Antithesis in Stevenson's Essays: A Structural Study." By Miss Alice D. Snyder, of Vassar College.
57. "Literature and Life: Does the Restoration Comedy of Manners reflect the morality of the age?" By Professor Elmer Edgar Stoll, of the University of Minnesota.
58. "The *Envoi* of Chaucer's *Troilus*." By Professor John S. P. Tatlock, of Leland Stanford Junior University.
59. "German and Other Continental Versions of Chaucer's *Friar's Tale*." By Professor Archer Taylor, of Washington University.
60. "Pure Psychology in the Seventeenth Century; The importance of the *Traité sur les passions de l'âme* of Descartes." By Dr. Maude Elizabeth Temple, of Hartford, Conn.
61. "The Attitude toward the Enemy in Sixteenth-Century Spanish Narrative Poetry." By Dr. John Van Horne, of the University of Illinois.
62. "Lord Chesterfield's Contribution to the Periodicals." By Professor John Edwin Wells, of Connecticut College.
63. "The Scholar and the Man of Science in the Contemporary Drama." By Professor Marian P. Whitney, of Vassar College.
64. "A Stage History of *Timon of Athens*." By Dr. Stanley Williams, of Yale University.

THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

DELIVERED ON MONDAY, MARCH 29, 1920, AT COLUMBUS,
OHIO, AT THE THIRTY-SIXTH MEETING OF THE
MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

BY EDWARD C. ARMSTRONG

TAKING COUNSEL WITH CANDIDE

In the days of turmoil upon which we entered in 1914 and from which in 1918 many hoped and some believed that we were issuing, in days such as caused hesitation at the sight of freshly-printed pages lest they but magnify a disquietude grown to be part of our innermost selves, a new book appeared which brought cheer beyond the measure of its theme. A citizen-soldier, a quiet thinker, swept into the vortex, who had given things closest and dearest and whose life itself was to be the final measure of the sacrifice, wrote of the war wherein he was a part, and thru the written word we could look into the author's soul and see it was serene; not the serenity of blind resignation and still less the serenity of despair, but the serenity of a soul that has weighed and judged—yes, and has struggled—and is tranquil. Adrien Bertrand fought, and yet was not in fighting mood. He gave whole-heartedly his physical and intellectual forces to the defence of his land, but let no foe penetrate to the inner citadel of his being; there peace never ceased to reign. And now that many war books more widely read at first have lost their message, Bertrand's *Appel du Sol* is as timely as it

was three years ago, and remains a call to patriotic effort in days when unselfish devotion no longer takes its measure from the greatness of the need.

One could but feel, serenely as Voltaire might sleep ahead, that the disturbances of these latter times must in the long run awaken Candide, witness to ways of war and warriors; and when Candide did bestir himself and in 1917 reappeared upon the scene, our acquaintance with the *Appel du Sol* made us glad he came with Bertrand as his cicerone. In the *Orage sur le Jardin de Candide*, Bertrand takes us to the banks of the Bosphorus, into the villa where Candide had thought to end his days, but where a genial immortality awaited him—an immortality whose unending chain of hours he employs in the avocations at which Voltaire had left him.

Upon this peaceful nook there breaks a tempest of unmeasured violence, driving one by one to the shelter of Candide's roof-tree buffeted travelers in the night, whom Candide greets and gathers round his hearth: the Abbé Jérôme Coignard, Mr. Pickwick, Don Quixote, Achilles, Dr. Faust, and with them Lieutenant Vaisselle, the young *agrégé* in philosophy who in Bertrand's former book had interpreted for us the summons to the sons of France of France's soil. The theme in that evening gathering is war: less this latter war which has brought them together than philosophy of war, its causes and effects. Two of the group contribute but brief parts to the symposium. Achilles finds in his antecedents little to facilitate interchange of thoughts, and in the reasoning of his fellow guests much that to him appears too subtle to be grasped. Candide, among such notables, is slow to interpose his views, and his mind is filled with visions of the ravages the storm is bringing upon his citrons and his roses. No heart has he to apply to the upheavals of our world the

lesson long instilled by Pangloss. From time to time a word to link up war with the ruin of the fruits of patient tilling: that is all. And yet, when the others have concluded, it is he who guides them out at the first gleam of newly coming dawn to his lawns and orchards, his vineyards and his kitchen garden, where only the bare earth remains; and it is in his garden that they promptly set themselves to work—not less heartily Achilles than the rest—to wipe out vestiges of thunderbolt and hurricane, and to plant the seeds for future harvests. As Voltaire's *Candide*, at the conclusion of his search for earthly perfection, left his lesson in the message: "Il faut cultiver notre jardin," so Bertrand's *Candide* summed up war's philosophy for those thinkers of all climes with a steadfast: "Travaillons!"

Small ground has there been so far to find in this exhortation a quality of prophetic vision; all the more is it desirable, in our first gathering as an association since the discordant voice of man-made implements of war gave place to the noisy weapon which comes to us as the free gift of mother nature, that we study how to restore the fruitfulness of our own corner of earth, and how, in so doing, to furnish a useful example to our fellow-men. With the laying down of arms we had looked for peace, and in its train a return to creative toil. To-day we are farther than ever away from the one and from the other, and are realizing that it is thru the second that we must reach the first: that only by centering desires and energies upon intensified industry can we hope to attain to peace, and that the sole peace awaiting us at the end of any other paths is the quiet of the desert or the grave.

Since doubtless we are united upon the necessity of girding up our loins, our first need is to determine what goal we set ourselves. Is it merely a return to the status

disturbed by the coming of the war? Even so, we have no easy road ahead, for he is an optimist who finds in this year's teaching or research a semblance of our former activities. And are we setting ourselves an adequate goal if this be all that we shall strive for? Whether compared with the monetary outlay or compared with the time and effort which we expended day by day and year by year, how great were the returns in scientific output, in promising young scholars, in educated citizens? Those returns seem inadequate not alone when measured absolutely, but when we regard what some of our sister nations did accomplish. I can hear the response that rises to many lips: "Why tell this to us? How can the best, how can any, results come under a system wherein the teacher, from end to end of his career, can not relax his vigilance lest he fall a prey to the wolf that does not quit his door? And if you cite what may have been accomplished elsewhere, do not forget, while making the comparison, the time and effort we must give to supplementary tasks. What time have we for study, what freshness left for teaching, when we pass from the class-room to a never-ending round of committees to be met, statistical tables to be drawn up, questionnaires to be answered; when, all this done, mayhap we spend the minutes that remain in laboring to convince those who have the final word that academic two and two make four? What spirit of work is there left in a man if he sees the resources of his institution ever anew allotted, not to lessening the burdens of the men who are at their posts, not to making adequate provision for the subjects which are on the list, but to creating new departments of study or to adding new bricks and mortar that serve but to impoverish the more?"

Each of these griefs is grievous, and each only too often real; but my conviction grows stronger and stronger that

we ourselves have a full part of responsibility for what has been, and ourselves the power to bring the remedies. It is true that as individuals you and I are at a disadvantage, but as a professional group we have the elements which should make ours the weightiest word in all questions of academic policy and practice, and one element alone preventing this. That one element is our individualistic attitude. Rarely can we bring ourselves to join in collective effort. We deplore our having so little say, and yet how uncommon it is that we unite to voice a common will. Have you ever participated in the efforts of a faculty, on its own initiative, to formulate and maintain an opinion on a measure of any complexity? Have you ever wrestled with the problem of persuading a faculty group who agree on a general proposition to accommodate their differences of view on its details? Have you never remarked that in the long run some who protest the most vigorously against the usurpations of executives trust rather to working out their problems with those executives than to submitting them to the criticism of their peers? Having myself thus participated, thus wrestled, and I fear at times thus trusted, I am disposed to believe that we have had nearly as much democracy as we ever really invited.

Objecting in theory to executive encroachments, we ourselves not only render such encroachments easy, but we even force them upon our executives. The institution must have within it authority in some form, deputed or self-constituted, and this authority takes the features of a monarchy or an oligarchy when, if not deliberately, at least unthinkingly, we *will* that it be so. Our executives have in the main come from our midst, and yet is it after all surprising that many even of those who were at the start the most democratic have become the victims of the system which we ourselves have fostered?

The same lack of co-ordinated effort manifests itself when we view our educational system from a national, rather than from an institutional, standpoint. It is significant, and it is characteristic, that not until a few years ago have our college and university teachers possessed a common medium for deliberation and action. We have already been able to observe the rapidity with which that medium, once created, has become invaluable in crystallizing opinion and in giving it a voice.

It is from phenomena like these that we can locate the first, and a fundamental, factor in the betterment of our work. We must lend our full aid to solving the problem of co-ordinated effort. The Association of University Professors furnishes an example of one way in which such effort can be furthered, and the local chapters of that association provide an excellent nucleus for the development of professional consciousness within each institution. We have turned toward the light, and we must move forward. Heaven bless the individualist! When he is intelligent and forceful, and when he is possessed of a sense of humor, he is the salt of the faculty. May his tribe persist, but may it persist in lesser quantity!

Happily, recourse to the extreme of Oslerizing measures may not prove requisite in order to hasten the reduction of this over-abounding blessing; for there are signs, in the institutions where the faculty has formed into an independent deliberative group, that our weakness as a guild is not inherent, and that once we have set ourselves seriously to act in unison it turns out to be less difficult than we had foreseen. We are finding that we can attain to real deliberation, and that more of our problems than we thought are common problems, more of our interests common interests. We are learning also that, when we discover a way to give voice to the wish of the majority, the

other parties to our institutional government can realize that this lightens their burdens and simplifies their task. Let us look for no utopia. It is not to be anticipated that faculty decisions will ever even distantly approach infallibility, or that we shall uniformly be able to subordinate selfish interests to the common good, but these decisions should in the long run prove as wise and as just as those of any other group of men, and we shall at least be imposing them upon ourselves and not receiving them from without.

In considering the lack of organic correlation among our university men, we are dealing with a single phase of what has constituted in America the most serious hindrance to the development of an adequate conception of the true spirit of the *universitas*. Our scheme of education has grown up around the local unit, each community advancing slowly and painfully in an adjustment of its education to its individual needs and its individual outlook. But why should this not be the soundest of processes, the best adapted to create a system in accord with our genius, the best qualified to contribute, to the solution of universal educational problems, new and important elements? Is this not more fruitful than a transference wholesale to our shores of some system evolved under conditions different from our own? Does this not mean that, while we have drawn from the general stock of human experience our basal ideas, we have fashioned them homogeneously in our own molds? And is this not after all the very process whereby other peoples have built up their educational structures? Progression from the individual to the general is in fact a natural and a wholesome way to grow, and it results in an organic system—provided that the advance from the particular to the general keeps pace with the advance in complexity. It is, however, from the

rapidity of our growth that our most serious problem has arisen. Within half a hundred, often within a score, of years there has been increase in size, in extension, in complexity which in a natural process of evolution would have been spread over centuries, and during this disconcertingly rapid shift there has existed no central authority to guide, to normalize, to generalize.

Reference has already been made to the constant extra tasks that blight the teacher's enthusiasm and consume the time and strength he owes to teaching and research. Why is it that he should have these things to do, day after day, year after year, in quantity augmenting rather than diminishing? In part it is because by a false economy his valuable time is taken up in routine work that would be better and quicker done by a clerk of six weeks' training; but in far larger measure it is because, in hundreds and hundreds of schools, we are laboriously and in the insufficient light of local experiences studying out questions that are being or have been decided in the same inadequate fashion over and over again; questions in which a standardized solution would be readily accepted by all and would be far more satisfactory than most of the many divergent solutions which are adopted.

This waste of energy is but one of the evils entailed by our lack of system, but it is a characteristic specimen from a whole class whose countersign is duplication: duplication at times due to ignorance, at times to harmful rivalry. We fail to make use of the lessons which others have already learned, and we spend our time and substance in half-way doing each what the other does. How long could the banking establishments of our country run their business without the clearing-house, above all were each trying to conduct banking, bonding, insurance, and even at times along with these an advertizing agency and a department-store annex?

Thus we see in the looseness of the tie uniting the members of our profession a reflex of the lack of any satisfactory bonds whatever within our educational system, just as this academic situation is itself a detail in the constitution of our whole social and political fabric, thoroly characteristic of a country where biennially forty-eight different assemblies convene to legislate each for its own locality regarding taxation, education, railroads, sweat-shops, marriage, divorce, cigarette-smoking, and the length of the gunning season or of bathing suits.

And we may further remark that, just as the absence of a collective will within our faculties has evoked and even imposed autocratic administration in our colleges, so the parallelism in the general conditions will almost inevitably impose sooner or later upon our whole educational system a co-ordination which is liable to come from without—nay, which will assuredly come from without—unless it be soon enough fashioned from within. So manifest is the need for general direction that many have proposed and urged recourse to the federal government for a solution. Shall we have a cabinet officer as director of our education as we have a Secretary of War? Shall we have a national university with a function paralleling that of the War College or of the General Staff? Must we have undergone our travail of soul and of body thru all the period of laissez-faire only that we may in the end adopt the educational bureaucracy to which centuries of adaptation have but half resigned our elder-sister nations? Some would assent, accepting any co-ordinating measure in preference to the chaos which has till now existed. But if this be our only choice, would that at least we might have accepted it at the birth of our republic, and thus have been spared the waste and wear of all the intervening years, so costly and so meaningless if out of them nothing

is to come for which we lacked the models and the warnings a full century ago! I hope and trust that this is not our only, nor our best, alternative.

That we have wider room for choice, signs are not lacking. The most spectacular among these tokens are the great Foundations established by private generosity to do for us what we have so long omitted to accomplish for ourselves. Their record of attainment is not without its imposing features. To cite an example, the marked advance toward standardization of medical education in recent years is largely due to the impulse given by a Foundation of this type. To a kindred source we can trace the notable effort there has been to find a common definition for a "point," and the notable consecration of microscopes to bringing to light the fourteen points, less two, that for a time were trusted to make the academic world safe for a pension.

In various domains these foundations have substantially contributed to the creation or to the elevation of standards. Few of us could view with complacency the loss of the good which they have accomplished, and even those few would hardly relinquish the strenuous recreation we find in efforts to shed light upon their pathway. Yet the fact remains that such philanthropic organizations are born of our weakness and not of our strength, and that in their very constitution they bear the marks of the paternalistic conception from which we are striving to turn. It is doubtful whether any substantial number of those who oppose, or even of those who favor, governmental direction of education could be rallied to the alternative of direction exercised by or thru foundations of this type, and there is small prospect that we should elect for them to be our masters. There are those who believe, it is true, that such an eventuality is not remote, and should we continue in a

state of aimless drifting there might be ground for their anxiety; but I have confidence that these foundations, as at present constituted, mark rather a transitional feature of a changing epoch than a definitive element in our system. And, as such a transitional feature, they strikingly exemplify two significant points: the potentialities of co-ordination and the possibility of its existence aside from governmental control.

Before or while these foundations were taking form, there have arisen associations of various sorts, born of the spontaneous desire for the interchange of opinion among those who had kindred problems to solve: associations of colleges, of universities, of state or of private institutions; groupings which often overlap, sometimes clash, and are no doubt unduly numerous, but which constitute a series of experiments whereby we are trying out various degrees and various phases of volunteer co-operation, and are growing familiar with a co-ordination which is neither urged upon us from without nor forced upon us from above, but built up from within. The educational foundations have accustomed us to organizations of large scope for the purpose of investigating conditions and formulating conclusions. The inter-institutional associations have furnished working models of the spontaneous association of interested parties for somewhat similar ends. The two types have in common the feature that they can only recommend and can not legislate, and in both instances we have learned that much can be brought to pass thru well matured recommendations without the backing of authoritative sanction.

Out of a blending of these two models there is gradually being evolved a type of central clearing-house for educational matters whose characteristic features are that it is constituted by the institutions and the inter-academic as-

sociations and looks to them for the continuance of its existence; that it has broad functions in investigation and recommendation, but that its conclusions carry with them only the authority they derive from their inherent weight, their representative character, and the willingness of the individual institutions to accept them. In this seemingly weak type of organization there are large possibilities of moral force, and in so far as it can make and keep itself the mouthpiece of the leading thinkers in our fields it can mightily promote standardization, and a standardization not imposed but voluntarily accepted. In this type of clearing-house are we not catching a glimpse of the prototype of a general directing force in education which may bring to us the advantages that come from organized effort and yet not cost us the blessings of individual liberty and individual initiative?

This is no brief for a multiplication of machinery, but a suggestion of what may be a way to suppress much useless duplication both of machinery and of routine drudgery. To this end let us as individuals do all we can to promote co-ordination of effort within our faculties, within the membership of our profession, and among the institutions with which we are connected. Here is one way whereby we can prepare for something larger and better than the mere recovery of the ground we occupied before the war.

If what I have said is to be accounted an exposition of my text, then *il faut cultiver notre jardin* may well seem to be Englished by 'my field is the world.' The justification I offer for the introduction of so general a theme in this gathering of Modern Language specialists is not only the fundamental importance in the present crisis of weighing most carefully our basal educational problems, but also the bearing that the situation I have discussed may have

upon a question that has again and again been before the members of this association, that has more than once been referred to in our presidential addresses, and that has certainly never received its final answer.

We are united into an association whose stated purpose is to advance the study of the Modern Languages, and whose stated method for attaining such advance is thru the promotion of friendly intercourse and scholarly publication, and thru the presentation and discussion of papers in periodic meetings of the members. This platform commits us as an association to the promotion of scientific research and of the scientific attitude of mind; there is a significant absence of assertion of other aims, but an absence also of any specific exclusion of other aims. The language of our constitution points with sufficient clearness to the intent of its framers and yet avoids a rigid prescription. So far as my own observation goes of the attitude within the association, it is that a majority of the members have been agreed in considering our normal function to be the promotion of research; that a certain number of these members have always viewed with disapprobation any deviation from treating this normal function as our exclusive function; and yet that from our origins up to now we have not ceased to maintain a certain contact with and to exercise a certain supervision over the teaching problems of our subject.

Such an intervention of the association, whether to be desired or to be feared, was all but inevitable. In the absence of any other medium thru which the pressing problems of Modern Language teaching could be dealt with, there hardly existed a possibility of the Association's declining to accept this supervision as one of its duties; even viewed exclusively from the standpoint of the promotion of research, it was essential that we bring some

order into our work as teachers if any research whatever was to be practicable. The good accomplished by such a report as was made to the Association in 1898 by the Committee of Twelve is beyond our power to estimate, and the chairman of the committee, who has so lately gone from among us, has no need of any advocate to establish that his devotion and his services to scholarship were in no wise diminished by his leadership in this incursion into the domain of methodology.

If we sum up our attitude, we may say that in the past we have been, in desire and by definition, a scientific society, but that under the pressure of necessity we have repeatedly exercised some of the functions of a pedagogical society. I think that a large majority of us have looked upon this mixed status as being provisionally unavoidable, but that few if any have been ready to accept it as a permanency. It has been no more satisfactory to such as might have wished to make of the association a frankly pedagogical organization than to those who would rigidly exclude from its ken all but scholarship.

So let us, in this our first survey of the garden plot since the hurricane swept over it, begin by trying to stake off its future metes and bounds. Has not the moment arrived when we have both the right and the duty to concentrate our energies on what has ever been our main object of endeavor and what many have held should be our exclusive aim?

The right to confine ourselves more strictly to our field has become ours because agencies now exist whose normal function it is to take charge of certain things which we in the past have had to do. Many questions of concern to groups of our teachers or to all of them are now disposed of by such organizations as the Federation of Modern Language Teachers. Other questions, too broad in their

scope, too closely interwoven with kindred problems in adjacent fields to receive their best study from a purely parochial angle, may now be handled by some central bureau of investigation which can command the large resources, the broad experience, the systematic organization that are requisite. For the past year or more many of us have been convinced that the times demand most pressing a broad survey of our whole modern foreign language domain. Questions of scholarly import would be involved which are of keen interest to this association; many other questions would be of a type attaching particularly to the teaching of our subjects. I trust that such a survey will be made, but I also sincerely hope, for the best interests of the Association and of the survey itself, that it can be intrusted with proper guarantees to an organization of the kind to which I have just alluded.

Not only have we the right, now that other agencies have come into being that render this possible, to restrict ourselves to our field, but it is more than ever before incumbent upon us to do so. Our association is the special guardian of the interests of productive scholarship, and those interests have need of our undivided support. Upon us Americans there rests a larger share of responsibility than ever before, for we are to a far less degree than other nations affected by present conditions unfavorable to scholarly work. How grievous the gaps in the scholarly ranks, and how heavy the handicaps under which our European colleagues are laboring! After the long years in which we have looked to them for stimulus and guidance, can we not carry a more substantial part of the load in this the time of their adversity? The workers in the Modern Languages are dealing with subjects that lend themselves to the furthering of international solidarity in scholarship at a time when this is more than ever essential,

and so can render especially important service. The call to us as an association to do our full part is imperious, and it is the more urgent because the times are such as do not lend themselves to scholarly pursuits. The overwhelming waste of war, and the formidable moral slackening that is following in war's track, are giving rise to a materialistic current which demands united and aggressive action if we are to stand up against it. And yet, if we but manifest the needful courage and the needful industry, there is no real ground for alarm regarding the future of scholarship and of scholarly education. I am weary of the talk of 'practical' studies; weary of hearing that our colleges and universities should prepare their students for 'life,' if by life you mean the amassing of dollars and automobiles. Shall we let ourselves be cowed by a bogey? Whither would such a conception of our functions lead us? Whither did its dominance lead the Germans? Whither would it have led the French had the minority who favored the materially easy way out been able to carry the day? What shall it profit a man even materially if you show him how to gather wealth and are not furnishing the spiritual checks and balances? Inevitably there will come the day when even his sordid material gains will be swept away by a society where those who have not will remain more numerous than those who have, and where that majority will bring down in ruins the whole structure in the effort to seize in their turn the lion's share. The menace to society to-day is that we have developed a complex material civilization out of proportion to the intellectual and spiritual leadership which we have been able to develop, and unless we can fortify and multiply this leadership the structure threatens to collapse upon our heads. The function of our higher institutions is not to teach how to make a living but to increase the

number of eligible leaders. It is we who are the 'practical' men in our domain if we are instilling a love of truth and beauty, and affording a training in clear and exact thinking. In so doing it is we who are giving the only solidity and permanence even to the material elements in the structure of our present society.

With any correct estimate of relative values, we are well to the front among the practical men of our age if we live up to high scholarly standards. We had always been disposed to acquiesce in the widespread belief that our studies removed us so far from contact with the world of affairs that we were unfitted to play a part in it—until the war came to jolt us into a realization that clear thinking and scientific method count wherever they are put to work. I recently had an opportunity to observe one of the French universities: how France drew upon its stock of trained intelligence and how powerfully that intelligence served in the most practical and important of the war tasks. It was one of the professors in that university who, after a long life in his study and lecture room, was transferred to the innermost circles of the war department, where the unerring deductions drawn by his trained mind from seemingly insignificant data in captured *Soldatenbücher* determined during a period of three years the disposition and redispotion along the front of numberless French army corps. Another member of the same faculty was set at the unacademic task of bringing to naught the machinations of hostile spies along his country's southern border—an undertaking which he carried out with marked success, directing it, not from his office desk, but from their very haunts in foreign territory. These are but samples from a list which a single university can offer, nor do we have to go so far afield as Europe in order to gather evidence of similar import. Within the mem-

bership of our own association there are, as you well know, examples of the application of scholarly training and method to our war problems with no less signal success. The fear has even been expressed that the ranks of our profession will be gravely depleted now that we have come to suspect that it is easier in the domain of business than in our own circles to make a favorable showing with the same expenditure of thought and effort. Instead of diminishing the prestige of scholarship, the war has given it a weight it did not have before. That prestige will be compromised only if we ourselves abandon its defence. Let us put our heart into making its hold upon our nation sufficient to stem the tide of loose and careless thinking.

In the course of this discussion I have endeavored to show that other agencies have now arisen which can adequately discharge functions which our association has hitherto felt called upon to exercise, and that this has come to pass at a time when there is more than ever a need for the concentration of our energies on the stimulation of scholarly activities and of a scholarly attitude of mind. In this connection it is worth while to pause a moment to note two propositions now before the Association. The first of these is an invitation which has come to us to accept associate membership in the American Council on Education. This Council is rendering valuable service in the collection and dissemination of information and in linking our institutions together, and it is concerned with a number of questions which affect the interests of our membership. It looks to us as a source for expert advice in the field of the Modern Languages, and we can look to it to take over questions which we from time to time may desire to refer to it for investigation. Its co-operation provides a possible medium for handling various matters which we have never felt at liberty to leave uncared for.

A further invitation now before us opens the way for the Association to adhere as a charter member to the American Council of Learned Societies, which is itself the national branch of the newly constituted International Union of Academies wherein all American research societies devoted to humanistic studies have been invited to participate. The American Council has already been organized, and pending our action upon the invitation a member of the Modern Language Association attended the first meeting. We could form part of no grouping of scholars in fuller unison with the purposes of our Association, and I do not doubt that our response to the invitation will be as hearty as has been that of the other societies comprised in the plan. While speaking of groupings of scholars, it is interesting to note the establishment last year in England of the Modern Humanities Research Association. Subsequent to the founding of the Modern Language Association of America, the British formed a society with a similar designation, but it early assumed the character of a pedagogical society, leaving free the domain which has now been occupied by this new organisation. In his presidential address at their first gathering, Sir Sidney Lee described the Research Association as being similar in its aims to the American Modern Language Association, and voiced the hope that the bonds of affiliation between us be close, a hope which we most cordially echo.

These are times in which he is rash who claims in any realm to have a vision of what the fates are holding in their lap, and amid such uncertainties there is no choice save to reserve final decision in many questions till we see more clearly what the future has in store. This is but a reason why we must make ready, should the days prove brighter than any gone before, to profit by the full measure of their opportunity, and a stronger reason still why

we must prepare ourselves, should added dangers and difficulties lie ahead, to meet and overcome them. Wait we shall since wait we must, but not in helpless hesitation. All things come to him who waits, we say with care-free readiness to welcome, in guise of proverbs, large beams of falsehood for their mote of truth. As a people we have done our share of waiting, watchful or wasteful as the case may be, and we have learned the price of attempting to realize an army while you wait, one-hundred-per-cent. American citizens out of eager aliens while you wait, victory or an international policy or a world peace while you wait. The French, prone to demand a closer squaring of their proverbs with the truth, speak with due caution and with a sounder basis when they say: "*Tout vient à point à qui sait attendre*," 'There's always a right moment comes to him who is canny in waiting.' May our canniness show itself by our making of this waiting period a time for trying out a fuller co-ordination of our energies, a better distribution of our tasks.

In our less lengthy session I have already spent substantially more words than did, in all that long and stormy night, the gentle host of the distinguished group who sought the shelter of his villa at the behest of Bertrand. My broidery upon the text of *Candide* will quickly pass to its well-earned oblivion, and yet the exposition will not have been without its value if its tedium serve as a foil to the single word of his that more than sums up all that I have said, and if we seek, as the highroad to peace on earth, the tranquillity of soul that will come alone thru our putting into action the lesson of his message: *travaillons!*

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON ROMANCE LANGUAGE INSTRUCTION AND THE WAR¹

I. ORGANIZATION

On December 29, 1917, the Modern Language Association adopted the following resolution:

Resolved: that the incoming President of the Association be directed to appoint an executive committee of five on Romance Language Instruction and the War; the functions of said committee being: to coöperate with the proper Governmental agencies regarding the instruction of our soldiers in the languages of our Allies; to keep the teachers of Romance informed of the opportunities for useful service; and in general to further in any way within their province the successful prosecution of the War.

That the President of the Association is empowered, after consulting with the chairman of the said executive committee, to appoint an advisory committee of such larger membership as shall seem best, to coöperate with the executive committee.

That the Treasurer of the Association be directed to pay from the funds of the Association the necessary clerical and postal expenses of the committee, as certified by the chairman, to a sum not exceeding seventy-five dollars.

In accordance with the terms of this resolution, President Armstrong appointed an Executive Committee consisting of Professors C. A. Downer, C. H. Grandgent, J. Lustrat, B. E. Young, and E. H. Wilkins, the last named acting as Chairman. There was then appointed an Advisory Committee consisting of Professors O. F. Bond, B.

¹ This report covers the activities of the Committee as such. It does not cover similar activities undertaken under other auspices; nor does it cover other war activities undertaken by members of the Committee. Copies of several of the documents referred to, but not quoted, in the report, and copies of certain other documents relating to the work of the Committee, have been filed with the Secretary of the Association.

P. Bourland, B. L. Bowen, M. P. Brush, A. G. Canfield, G. Chinard, A. Coleman, F. A. G. Cowper, J. P. W. Crawford, W. M. Dey, J. D. M. Ford, J. L. Gerig, Miss H. T. Hill, Miss J. W. Holt, and Professors O. M. Johnston, K. McKenzie, W. A. Nitze, E. W. Olmsted, A. Schinz, H. A. Smith, C. A. Turrell, G. W. Umphrey, F. M. Warren, and R. Weeks.

The Chairman, when acting in the name of the Committee, secured the advice and coöperation of those members of the Committee who were readily accessible, and obtained by correspondence, so far as was possible, the advice and coöperation of other members.

The work of the Committee came to an end with the signing of the armistice.

II. THE TEACHING OF FRENCH IN ARMY CAMPS

The main concern of the Committee was with the teaching of French in army camps.

Educational work in the camps (except the technical work which formed a part of the military training) was referred by the War Department to the Commission on Training Camp Activities, and by that commission to a Committee on Education, of which Mr. W. Orr was chairman. Mr. Orr was also, through August, 1918, Director of the Educational Bureau of the War Work Council of the Y. M. C. A. Practically all general educational work in the camps was, throughout the period of the war, in the hands of the Y. M. C. A. The principle of local autonomy which characterizes the regular city Y. M. C. A.'s was, to a large extent, carried over into the War Work Council, the result being that for a long time there was very little authoritative central direction of the educational work. In consequence, largely, of this local autonomy, the camp

French teaching in the country as a whole was, in January, 1918, in a very unsatisfactory condition. No attempt had been made by the Y. M. C. A. to secure from the War Department a general order establishing the teaching of French upon a sound basis; no attempt had been made to frame a unified policy with regard to the organization of French courses; no attempt had been made to approve any single text or set of texts as standard; and the personnel of the teaching force was in general of poor quality. The Y. M. C. A. was disposed to concern itself almost entirely with work in elementary French for enlisted men, thus disregarding the much more important work in advanced French and with officers. The physical conditions of instruction were (and always remained) exceedingly difficult; and still greater difficulties, never completely overcome, arose from the conditions of military life—in particular from the frequent detailing of men for special duty, from the frequent transfers of units and groups of units, and from the fact that many commanding officers did not appreciate the value of work in French.

In a few of the large camps, however, the work in French had been entrusted at an early date to members of this Association, and had prospered in consequence. At Fort Oglethorpe, the work was in charge of Professor C. D. Zdanowicz, whose term of service began in August, 1917 and continued through August, 1918—the longest term achieved by any camp French Director. At Camp Sherman, courses were conducted for a time under the direction of Professor B. L. Bowen and other members of the Romance Department of Ohio State University. At Camp Custer, the work was carried on continuously for a long time by Professor A. G. Canfield and other members of the Romance Department of the University of Michigan. At Camp Grant, preliminary work was done by

Professor C. E. Young. At Camp Travis, the work was organized by Professor O. F. Bond. At Camp Fremont, the work was carried on continuously for a long time by Professor O. M. Johnston and other members of the Romance Department of Leland Stanford Junior University.

On January 14 the Committee sent out to the Camp Educational Secretaries of the Y. M. C. A. a questionnaire calling for information as to the organization, methods, texts, and personnel of the French teaching system. At the same time the offer was made to the Camp Educational Secretaries to provide them with advice on such problems regarding the teaching of French as they might desire to bring to the attention of the Committee, and to send them suggestions from time to time. The reports from the questionnaire revealed the existence of the conditions stated above.

The Committee thereupon formulated and transmitted to the War Work Council, on January 28, specific recommendations as to the conduct of the work in French, stressing in particular the necessity of the appointment in each camp (except those for which appointments had already been made) of a Director of French and one or more Assistant Directors, to be selected in consultation with the Committee. It was urged also that as many classes as possible be organized for officers.

On February 1 Professor F. A. G. Cowper was appointed Director of French at Camp Grant. For his guidance the Committee drew up, and sent to him on February 4, a detailed plan of organization for camp classes in French, based on the reports from Camp Fremont and other camps where the work had been measurably successful. This plan called for the development of classes among officers and of courses in advanced French;

and for the securing of a divisional order by which the study of French should be made mandatory for all officers and men who had some knowledge of French, and for a certain number of others. This plan was submitted by Professor Cowper and the Camp Educational Secretary to the Chief of Staff of the Division, and there resulted a divisional Memorandum Circular, issued on March 1, which established for the Division a plan for French instruction following very closely the lines of the Committee's recommendation.

On March 25 the Chairman of the Committee met the Department Executives of the War Work Council, and laid before them a plan for the improvement of the work in French throughout the country, involving the appointment for each of the large camps (except those for which appointments had already been made) of a Director of French and one or more Assistant Directors, to be selected by the Committee, and a general recommendation of the plan of organization contained in the Camp Grant Memorandum Circular.

This plan was approved, and the Committee began at once to secure men for the camps which still lacked Directors of French. The following men were thus appointed during the spring, and served through the summer or longer:

Dr. L. H. Alexander, at Camp Sevier.

Professor A. Béziat, at Camp Jackson. Professor Béziat's service continued well into 1919, being next in length to that of Professor Zdanowicz.

Professor O. F. Bond, at Camp Sheridan; later at the Y. M. C. A. headquarters of the Southern Department as Departmental Director of French.

Professor J. R. Fisher, at Camp Lee.

Professor J. T. Frelin, at Camp Shelby.

Professor R. T. House, at Camp Doniphan.

Mr. K. Kaufman, of the Oklahoma City High School, at Camp Doniphan.

Professor A. M. La Meslée, of Tulane University, at Camp Shelby.

Professor P. de La Rochelle, at Camp Sevier.

Professor M. Merrill, at Camp Dodge.

Professor A. H. Otis, at Camp Cody.

Professor A. Solomon, of the University of California, at Camp Kearny.

Professor H. P. Thieme, at Camp Custer.

Professor J. Van Horne, at Camp Beauregard.

Professor B. E. Young, at Camp McClellan; later at the Y. M. C. A. headquarters of the Southeastern Department as Departmental Director of French.

Mr. P. B. Burnet and Professors C. A. Downer and D. B. Easter served for shorter periods at Camps Logan, Upton, and Lee respectively.

On June 1 the Chairman of the Committee became an Associate Executive Secretary of the War Personnel Board of the War Work Council, his department including a division for the recruiting of French teachers, of which division Professor J. L. Gerig was placed in immediate charge. Duties at Y. M. C. A. departmental headquarters corresponding to those of the Chairman were assumed somewhat later by Professor E. R. Greene in the North-eastern Department, Professor B. E. Young in the South-eastern Department, Professor H. R. Brush in the Central Department, and Professor O. F. Bond in the Southern Department. The appointment of French teachers, from June 1 on, was thus not the work of the Committee as such, and is therefore not fully reported here. It may be noted, however, that the following members of the Modern Language Association, appointed during the summer,

served in camp as French teachers to the end of the summer or longer:

Professor G. H. Brown, at Camp Humphrey.

Professor C. B. Campbell, at Camp Stanley.

Professor C. D. Cool, at Great Lakes.

Professor M. M. Dondo, at Camp Gordon.

Professor G. L. Hamilton, in the Tidewater District.

Professor E. J. Williamson, in the Tidewater District.

In addition to the men named above, many teachers of French, some members of the Modern Language Association, and some not, served acceptably and faithfully in camps or smaller posts under direct local appointment from the Y. M. C. A. or other organizations.

During the spring, the Committee sent out to all camps material of various sorts relating to the study of French: copies of the tabulated results of the questionnaire, with comments thereon; a set of suggested legends for French signs to be placed in Y. M. C. A. buildings; a set of suggested legends for English-French signs to be placed about the camps; a set of suggested legends for lantern slides to be used for mass instruction at evening entertainments at which a stereopticon was available; copies of the Camp Grant Memorandum Circular; and reprints of the first and second installments of the review of "Manuals of French with Reference to Overseas Service," prepared by Professor McKenzie and published in the *Modern Language Journal*.

The January questionnaire showed that very many different French texts were in use in the camps; and the production and local adoption of new texts continued throughout the spring and summer. Early in February, the Committee urged upon the Y. M. C. A. the desirability of the selection, or preparation, of a standard text. This recommendation was repeated in May; but no action

resulted until June 5, when the Y. M. C. A. sent out to its Department Educational Directors a circular letter suggesting a general trial of *Army French* in the period from July 1 to August 15, to be followed by a report regarding the desirability of revising this book or preparing another book. This letter resulted in a general adherence of the Camp Educational Secretaries and French Directors to the principle of the use of a standard text; but it appeared that *Army French* was regarded as too elaborate for camp use, and the Committee was therefore asked to direct the preparation of a simpler text.

The Chairman selected as collaborators for this work Professors F. A. G. Cowper and C. D. Zdanowicz, who worked through August, and Professor R. T. Holbrook, who worked through the first part of September. Advice was asked and received from many French Directors in the camps, and—particularly with regard to the system of phonetic notation—from the members of the Committee. The resulting booklet, *Liberty French*, was published on October 28 by the Association Press. The signing of the armistice, however, caused an immediate decrease in the interest in French in the camps; and the book, in consequence, saw no such general service as had been expected. Reports of its limited use indicate that it proved the best of all the “War French” books for elementary camp classes.

By the middle of May, the actual and prospective personnel of the French teaching force in the camps as a whole seemed to the Committee sufficiently good to render desirable and safe the issuance by the War Department of a general order establishing the study of French in all camps upon a basis similar to that outlined in the Camp Grant Memorandum Circular. On May 21 the Committee therefore submitted to the Y. M. C. A. a draft of

such an order, in effect a revision and generalization of the Camp Grant Memorandum Circular, and asked them to submit it to the War Department, and urge its issue. The Y. M. C. A., however, did not take such action. On July 13 the Chairman of the Committee, with President Armstrong and Professor Gerig, laid the proposed general order before Assistant Secretary of War Keppel. Secretary Keppel decided that the matter was one for the decision of the Training and Instruction Branch of the War Plans Division of the General Staff. On July 15 the Chairman of the Committee therefore submitted the proposed general order to Colonel Fleming, the Chairman of that Branch, by whom it was referred for study to Lieutenant-Colonel Conway. On September 5, some correspondence but no action having resulted from the conference of July, the Chairman of the Committee again conferred with Colonel Conway. This conference led to the issuance of the following Memorandum:

WAR DEPARTMENT
THE ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE
WASHINGTON

September 28, 1918.

From: The Adjutant General of the Army.

To: All Camp Commanders.

Subject: Instruction in French.

1. Professor E. H. Wilkins, of the University of Chicago, Chairman of the Executive Committee on Romance Language Instruction and the War, Modern Language Association of America, has proffered the services of that organization to the War Department to give, through the Y. M. C. A., a course of instruction in French to divisions and camps.

2. Competent instructors will be furnished by the Y. M. C. A., who will assume all the duties connected therewith, under your supervision or that of a member of your staff.

3. Realizing the importance of such instruction and the great benefits that will be derived from it, the Secretary of War has accepted this proffer of service and is desirous of utilizing it to the

greatest possible extent without interfering with or impeding the most intensive training of your command. Its introduction will therefore not be made mandatory.

4. However, if, in your opinion, such a course can be given without detriment to training, you are authorized to arrange with Professor Wilkins, Room 509, 347 Madison Avenue, New York City, for its inauguration.

5. Should this course be instituted in your command, you will report that fact to this office.

By order of the Secretary of War,

C. M. THIELE, *Adjutant General*.

It had been hoped by the Committee, and by Colonel Conway, that the establishment of French courses for certain groups of men would be made mandatory by the War Department Memorandum itself. This was prevented, according to a letter sent by Colonel Conway on September 30 to the Chairman of the Committee, by the fact that exceedingly intensive military training was at that time being maintained.

Upon the issuance of the War Department Memorandum, the following plan for the organization of French instruction, embodying the final judgment of the Committee as to the organization of language instruction desirable and feasible in camps under war conditions, was drawn up, and sent out to the Camp Educational Secretaries and French Directors.

PLAN FOR THE ORGANIZATION OF FRENCH INSTRUCTION IN THE ARMY
CAMPS SUGGESTED BY THE COMMITTEE OF THE MODERN
LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA ON
ROMANCE LANGUAGE INSTRUCTION
AND THE WAR

In view of the communication issued September 28, 1918, by the Adjutant General of the Army to all Camp Commanders with regard to instruction in French, the Committee of the Modern Language Association, through its chairman, respectfully submits a plan, as herein set forth, for instruction in French in the Army Camps.

1. The introduction of such instruction is not mandatory. It is recommended, moreover, by the Committee, that enrollment in this course, in the camps where it is introduced, be voluntary for officers and privates, save as hereafter (No. 3) specified. Attendance upon the courses shall be part of the regular duties of those enrolled, and completion of French courses shall be entered on the official service record of the individual in question.

2. The instruction shall be provided by the Y. M. C. A., but it shall be under the supervision of the Chief Intelligence Officer of the camp or of some other officer designated by the Commanding Officer.

3. Enrollment in a French class shall be obligatory for such officers and privates of the Intelligence Corps as may be designated therefor by the Chief Intelligence Officer of the Camp, and for any other officers and privates whom the officer supervising the French instruction may see fit to designate therefor.

4. *Officers' Classes.* There shall be provided:

(a) *An Advanced Class* (to furnish intensive training in practical interpreting, and in writing of military reports and dispatches in French), open to all officers who have already a good speaking knowledge of French;

(b) *Intermediate Classes* (to furnish training in understanding and speaking French), open to 150 officers who have already some knowledge of French;

(c) *Elementary Classes* (to furnish instruction in the essentials of French with particular reference to military needs), open to 100 officers who have never studied French.

5. *Non-Commissioned Officers' Classes.* There shall be provided:

(a) *An Advanced Class*, open to all non-commissioned officers who have already a good speaking knowledge of French;

(b) *Intermediate Classes*, open to 150 non-commissioned officers who have some knowledge of French;

(c) *Elementary Classes*, open to 100 non-commissioned officers.

6. *Classes for Privates.* There shall be provided:

(a) *An Advanced Class*, open to all privates who have already a good speaking knowledge of French;

(b) *Intermediate Classes*, open to 150 privates who have already some knowledge of French;

(c) *Elementary Classes*, open to 100 privates.

7. At the discretion of the officer charged with the supervision of the French instruction, Advanced Classes for privates, non-commissioned officers, or officers, may be combined; similarly, Intermediate Classes.

8. In the admission of officers and privates to the French classes, preference shall be given in the following order:

- (a) Members of the Intelligence Corps duly designated to follow the course;
- (b) Any other officers and privates who may be duly designated to follow the course;
- (c) Volunteers.

When unable to provide for the instruction of all volunteers, the Y. M. C. A. Director of French in the Camp shall be authorized to select those who, in his judgment, are best qualified to profit by the instruction.

9. It is understood that, when the demand for French instruction is greater than hereinabove provided for, the Y. M. C. A. will, to the extent practicable, enlarge the instruction.

10. It is in particular requested of the Military Authorities that non-commissioned officers and privates who have a sufficient knowledge of French to serve as instructors for Elementary Classes shall be detailed as teachers; shall meet once a week for normal instruction in methods of teaching; and shall be relieved of all other military duties during the hours of their giving and receiving instruction.

11. Classes shall meet three times per week at such hours as the Commanding Officer of the camp may designate.

Respectfully submitted,

ERNEST H. WILKINS,

Chairman, M. L. A. Committee; and Director,

Educational Bureau, War Work Council, Y. M. C. A.

During October, commanding officers of fifteen camps requested installation of French teaching service upon the basis of the War Department Memorandum.

The signing of the armistice and the consequent cessation of the shipment of troops to France dispelled both the special value and the general interest of Camp French classes, and such courses dwindled and vanished, in most instances, before the end of 1918.

III. FRENCH COURSES FOR THE STUDENTS' ARMY TRAINING CORPS

On July 15 the Committee of the War Department on Education and Special Training requested this Committee to prepare a set of recommendations as to instruction in military French in colleges. Such recommendations were drafted, submitted for criticism to members of the Committee and to French Directors in the army camps, revised, and sent to the War Department on August 14. These recommendations were sent by the War Department, on September 19, to institutions maintaining units of the Students' Army Training Corps, as a Special Descriptive Circular, herewith quoted in full:

WAR DEPARTMENT
COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND SPECIAL TRAINING
SPECIAL DESCRIPTIVE CIRCULAR
FRENCH

Three courses are here outlined, suitable for members of the Students' Army Training Corps. Each should cover one term of twelve weeks, allowing nine hours of classroom work and supervised study per week.

I. *Elementary Course*

The Elementary Course should provide for men who have had no French. Its purpose should be to give instruction in the essentials of French with particular reference to military needs. Spoken French, rather than written French, should be the primary material of study. The student should be trained carefully and insistently to understand the French words, phrases and sentences as uttered by the instructor; in the second place, he should be trained to utter French words, phrases and sentences intelligibly and intelligently; in the third place, he should be trained to understand written French words, phrases and sentences. The course should, however, be built upon a grammatical framework; not so detailed nor so emphasized as to make the grammar an object of study for its own sake, but

sufficiently thorough to develop a constructive knowledge of the language. A knowledge of words and phrases without the study of grammar limits a man's resources to the exact material he has learned. A knowledge of the elements of grammar enables him, as nothing else can, to recombine his word and phrase material as varying occasions may require.

The word and phrase material should be neither exclusively civilian nor exclusively military, but should include both the material most essential for ordinary needs and experience in France and the most common French military terms.

Particular care should be given to the study of the pronoun and verb. Mastery of these can be acquired only through systematic study, whereas nouns and the other uninflected words can be acquired easily through hearing or reading.

The greatest care should be taken in the preliminary study of pronunciation, and throughout the course there should be frequent careful practice in correct pronunciation.

Texts for reading should be selected from those conveying most information as to the life of France. These, too, should be treated as a basis for oral work—for reading in French by the instructor or the students, or as material for question and answer in French, etc. Continuous formal translation should be avoided.

French newspapers published in this country or in Canada will prove valuable as supplementary material in the later work of the course. The use of a phonograph in connection with the Elementary Course is not recommended.

2. *Intermediate Course*

The Intermediate Course is for those men who enter college with credits entitling them to intermediate standing in French, and for those who have had one year of ordinary college French. Its purpose should be to train men in understanding and speaking French with reference to military matters. Here, again, the understanding of French as spoken is the main thing. Next comes the ability to understand and translate written French. In this course men should also receive some training in writing French.

The men enrolled in this course will be in general men who have had school or college courses in French which have given them a reading knowledge of ordinary civilian French. The special function of the Intermediate Course is, then, to turn their reading knowledge into a speaking knowledge, and to familiarize them with the military vocabulary.

It is recommended that the Intermediate Course begin at the same point as the Elementary Course, and be developed along the same lines, stressing the use of spoken French, which will be new to most of the men. It will be possible to progress much faster than in the Elementary Course. Attempts to start work of this grade at an advanced point and with an advanced book have proved in general unsuccessful. In particular, it proves necessary to devote fully as much time to the subject of pronunciation as in any elementary course. Many of the students will have bad linguistic habits to unlearn.

3. *Advanced Course*

The Advanced Course is for those men who enter college with credits entitling them to advanced standing in French, and for those who have had two years of ordinary college French. Its purpose should be to train men for practical interpreting and for the writing of military reports and despatches in French. The Interpreters' Corps, as authorized by Congress, is already filled; but commanders of brigades, regiments, battalions and companies are directed to secure for development interpreters from within their own commands. Men entering military service in possession of the ability to serve as interpreters will therefore be of particular value.

The principal matter for study in this course should be the specific military vocabulary. Practice in dictation will be found particularly valuable; dictation in French to be taken down in French, dictation in French to be taken down in English, and dictation in English to be taken down in French. Efforts should be made to accustom the student to a variety of French voices.

COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND SPECIAL TRAINING.

By R. C. MACLAURIN,

Educational Director, Collegiate Section.

September 19, 1918.

The recommendations as sent in by the Committee contained lists of books suitable for use in the several courses. These lists were omitted by the War Department in accordance with a policy which applied to its S. A. T. C. recommendations in general. Otherwise the circular follows very closely the text of the recommendations.

IV. CO-OPERATION WITH OFFICIAL BODIES

On March 2 the Committee was requested by the Foreign Speaking Soldier Section of the Military Intelligence Branch to nominate men known to be loyal, who would do rush translation work for the General Staff. Through coöperation of the entire Committee a considerable number of such nominations was made; and the Section, on March 27, reported "splendid returns from translators in the Romance languages." From time to time, the Section sent to the Committee special requests for help in translation from and into various foreign languages—the list including Portuguese, Dutch, Danish, Norwegian, Swedish, Russian, the languages spoken in the then Austria, and Syrian. Steps were taken in each case to put the Section in touch with individuals known to be competent and reliable, or with organizations likely to contain such individuals.

The Committee on Public Information, in February, requested this Committee to nominate to the Board of Postal Censorship persons who could read Spanish chirography. This was done, through the coöperation of the entire Committee, and the Committee was later informed that a number of appointments resulted.

In August the Committee sent to all members of the Modern Language Association the following notice:

The War Department wants Baedekers for European countries, especially France, Belgium, Italy, and Germany, and has asked the American Defense Society to collect them—as gifts not to be returned. Send to the American Defense Society, 44 East 23rd Street, New York City.

The War Department wants photographs, drawings, and descriptions of bridges, towns, buildings and localities now occupied by the German forces in France, Belgium, and Luxembourg, and likewise in that part of Germany lying west of a line running north and

south through Hamburg; and has asked the American Protective League to collect them—as gifts, not to be returned. Send to the American Protective League, Post Office Box 59, City Hall Station, New York City.

The Executive Postal Censorship Committee wants competent, loyal men who can deal with Spanish hand-written material. Communicate with Roderick Terry, Jr., 641 Washington Street, New York City.

The American Defense Society and the American Protective League reported considerable results attributed by them to this notice.

V. CO-OPERATION WITH WELFARE ORGANIZATIONS

The coöperation of the Committee with the Y. M. C. A. in the matter of French instruction has been reported above.

The War Work Council of the Y. M. C. A. directed throughout the war the publication of a cantonment newspaper called *Trench and Camp*. The outside pages of each number were made up locally for each cantonment, but “patent insides” were provided by the central office. For these “patent insides” the Committee furnished a brief series of very simple French lessons, prepared chiefly by Professor A. Coleman, and a number of articles on various phases of French life. Five of these were by members of the Association, as follows:

Professor G. Chinard: French Education.

Professor E. P. Dargan: France, North and South; and: French Literature and Journalism.

Professor G. T. Northup: French Money.

Professor G. B. Weston: French Music.

Other articles were prepared by members of the faculty of the University of Chicago as follows:

Mr. F. D. Bramhall: The Government of France.

Professor W. D. Jones: Three Articles on the Geography of France.

Professor Conyers Read: Three Articles on French History.

An article on the organization of the French Army was obtained through Professor J. Lustrat from a French officer who remained anonymous.

Throughout the war, the Y. M. C. A. sent men to France to serve with the French troops, and men to Italy to serve with the Italian troops. It was obviously desirable that the men chosen for this work should be, so far as possible, men who had already knowledge of the French or the Italian language, or who had, at least, some special points of contact with French or Italian life. The Y. M. C. A. in January requested the Committee to aid in the recruiting of these men: and plans were drawn up and letters written which put the Y. M. C. A. in touch with various groups of French or Italian-speaking or internationally-minded men. When the Chairman joined the staff of the War Personnel Board, his department included a division for the direction of the recruiting of these men, and President Armstrong took direct charge of the recruiting of men for service with the French army.

On March 19, the Committee and the American Library Association sent to all teachers of Romance languages enrolled in the several Modern Language organizations of the country a joint appeal for the contribution for camp libraries of books in and on the Romance languages.

VI. MISCELLANEOUS

The Committee, through its members, urged locally the importance of training courses for teachers of French both in summer schools and as part of the regular program for

the college year 1919-20, and the importance of getting competent students to enter these courses and to become teachers of French.

In the same way, the Committee urged the organization of the foreign-born students in city colleges and universities for such types of patriotic service as might offer—as for instance, speaking on behalf of Liberty Loans or other patriotic causes, interpreting for Exemption Boards, inspecting foreign-language newspapers, and translating projects of invention prepared in foreign languages.

Respectfully submitted,

ERNEST H. WILKINS, *Chairman.*

CONSTITUTION OF THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

ADOPTED ON THE TWENTY-NINTH OF DECEMBER, 1903

AMENDED ON THE TWENTY-NINTH OF DECEMBER, 1915
AND ON THE THIRTY-FIRST OF MARCH, 1920

I

The name of this Society shall be *The Modern Language Association of America*.

II

1. The object of this Association shall be the advancement of the study of the Modern Languages and their Literatures through the promotion of friendly relations among scholars, through the publication of the results of investigations by members, and through the presentation and discussion of papers at an annual meeting.

2. The meeting of the Association shall be held at such place and time as the Executive Council shall from year to year determine. But at least as often as once in four years there shall be held a Union Meeting, for which some central point in the interior of the country shall be chosen.

III

1. Any person whose candidacy has been approved by the Secretary-Treasurer may become a member on the payment of three dollars, and may continue a member by the payment of the same amount each year.

2. Members of other societies of scholars or teachers may be admitted either to membership in the Association, or to affiliation with the same, upon such terms as the Executive Council shall from time to time determine. Members of other societies so admitted to membership in the Association shall have all the rights and privileges pertaining thereto; persons admitted to affiliation with the Association shall have such rights and privileges as may be mutually agreed upon, but not the right to vote or to hold office in the Association.

3. Persons who for twenty years or more have been active members in good and regular standing may, on retiring from active service as teachers, be continued as active members without further payment of dues.

4. Any member, or any person eligible to membership, may become a life member by a single payment of forty dollars or by the payment of fifteen dollars a year for three successive years. Persons who for fifteen years or more have been active members in good and regular standing may become life members upon the single payment of twenty-five dollars.

5. Distinguished foreign scholars may be elected to honorary membership by the Association on nomination by the Executive Council. But the number of honorary members shall not at any time exceed forty.

IV

1. The officers and governing boards of the Association shall be: a President, three Vice-Presidents, a Secretary-Treasurer; an Editorial Committee consisting of the Secretary of the Association (who shall be Chairman *ex officio*), the Secretaries of the several Divisions, and three other members; and an Executive Council consisting of the aforementioned officers, the Chairmen of the several Divisions, and seven other members.

2. The President and the Vice-Presidents shall be elected by the Association, to hold office for one year.

3. The Chairmen and Secretaries of Divisions shall be chosen by the respective Divisions.

4. The other officers shall be elected by the Association at a Union Meeting, to hold office until the next Union Meeting. Vacancies occurring between two Union Meetings shall be filled by the Executive Council.

v

1. The President, Vice-Presidents, and Secretary-Treasurer shall perform the usual duties of such officers. The Secretary shall, furthermore, have charge of the Publications of the Association and the preparation of the programme of the annual meeting.

2. The Executive Council shall perform the duties assigned to it in Articles II, III, IV, VII, and VIII; it shall, moreover, determine such questions of policy as may be referred to it by the Association and such as may arise in the course of the year and call for immediate decision.

3. The Editorial Committee shall render such assistance as the Secretary may need in editing the Publications of the Association and preparing the annual programme.

vi

1. The Association may, to further investigation in any special branch of Modern Language study, create a Section devoted to that end.

2. The officers of a Section shall be a Chairman and a Secretary, elected annually by the Association. They shall form a standing committee of the Association, and may add to their number any other members interested in the same subject.

VII

1. When, for geographical reasons, the members from any group of States shall find it expedient to hold a separate annual meeting, the Executive Council may arrange with these members to form a Division, with power to call a meeting at such place and time as the members of the Division shall select; but no Division meeting shall be held during the year in which the Association holds a Union Meeting. The expense of Division meetings shall be borne by the Association. The total number of Divisions shall not at any time exceed three. The present Division is hereby continued.

2. The members of a Division shall pay their dues to the Treasurer of the Association, and shall enjoy the same rights and privileges and be subject to the same conditions as other members of the Association.

3. The officers of a Division shall be a Chairman and a Secretary. The Division shall, moreover, have power to create such committees as may be needed for its own business. The programme of the Division meeting shall be prepared by the Secretary of the Division in consultation with the Secretary of the Association.

VIII

This Constitution may be amended by a two-thirds vote at any Union Meeting, provided the proposed amendment has received the approval of two-thirds of the members of the Executive Council.

FORMER PRESIDENTS AND SECRETARIES

Presidents

FRANKLIN CARTER.....	1884-86
JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL.....	1887-91
FRANCIS A. MARCH.....	1892-93
A. MARSHALL ELLIOTT.....	1894
JAMES MORGAN HART.....	1895
CALVIN THOMAS.....	1896
ALBERT S. COOK.....	1897
ALCÉE FORTIER.....	1898
HANS C. G. VON JAGEMANN.....	1899
THOMAS R. PRICE.....	1900
EDWARD S. SHELDON.....	1901
JAMES W. BRIGHT.....	1902
GEORGE HEMPL.....	1903
GEORGE LYMAN KITTEDGE.....	1904
FRANCIS B. GUMMERE.....	1905
HENRY ALFRED TODD.....	1906
FRED NEWTON SCOTT.....	1907
FREDERICK M. WARREN.....	1908
MARION DEXTER LEARNED.....	1909
BRANDER MATTHEWS.....	1910
LEWIS F. MOTT.....	1911
CHARLES H. GRANDGENT.....	1912
ALEXANDER R. HOHLFELD.....	1913
FELIX E. SCHELLING.....	1914
JEFFERSON BUTLER FLETCHER.....	1915
JAMES DOUGLAS BRUCE.....	1916
KUNO FRANCKE.....	1917
EDWARD C. ARMSTRONG.....	1918-19

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MEETING OF THE PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE PACIFIC COAST

The twenty-first annual meeting of the PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE PACIFIC COAST was held in San Francisco, November 28 and 29, 1919. The morning and afternoon sessions were held in Rooms 261-262 of the Hotel St. Francis. The meeting in the evening of the first day was held at the University Club, immediately after the annual dinner. The President, Professor H. C. Nutting, of the University of California, presided at all the sessions except the second, at which Professor J. S. P. Tatlock, of the Leland Stanford Junior University, occupied the chair. The following items of business were transacted:

The Treasurer made the following report for 1918-1919:

RECEIPTS

Balance on hand, Dec. 1, 1918,	-	-	-	\$	236	23
Dues,	-	-	-	-	375	10
Interest,	-	-	-	-	4	08
						-----\$ 615 41

EXPENDITURES

Dues to American Philological Association,	-	\$	122	00
Dues to Modern Language Association of America,	-	-	-	-
	-	-	-	153 00
Special Contribution to the American Philological Association,	-	-	-	-
	-	-	-	30 00
Postage, printing, and stationery,	-	-	-	62 05
Waiters' gratuity (1918 meeting),	-	-	-	5 00
Balance on hand, Nov. 28, 1919,	-	-	-	243 36
				-----\$ 615 41

On motion the report was accepted and referred to the Auditing Committee.

The Secretary gave the statistics of membership for the past year, and announced that the Executive Committee had selected Professor Jefferson Elmore, of the Leland Stanford Junior University, as a delegate to represent the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast at the Semi-Centennial Meeting of the American Philological Association at Toronto. He reported a recommendation of the Executive Committee, to the effect that the delegate of the local Association be asked to read a resolution at the Toronto meeting. The resolution, after a slight verbal amendment from the floor, read as follows:

Through its official delegate, the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast extends heartiest greetings to the American Philological Association on the occasion of its semi-centennial meeting. The happy arrangement recently concluded with the American Philological Association and the Modern Language Association is giving large satisfaction; and the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast appreciates deeply the sympathetic coöperation of the parent associations that is helping so much toward the present solid alignment of literary scholarship in the West. It pledges every effort to advance the interests of the cause in this section of the country.

On motion the report of the Secretary was accepted and the recommendation of the Executive Committee adopted.

The minutes of the last Annual Meeting were approved as printed in the *Proceedings* of the American Philological Association and the *Publications* of the Modern Language Association.

The President appointed the following committees:

Nominations: Professors Johnston, Linforth, Hart.

Auditing: Professors Fay and McKinlay, and Mr. Bell.

Social: Professors Alden, Deutsch, Murray.

On motion it was voted that the President appoint a committee, with time and power, to prepare resolutions on the death of Professor H. G. Shearin. The President then appointed as a committee for this purpose Professor Tatlock and Dr. Kennedy.

The resolution which the committee subsequently presented was as follows:

Professor H. G. Shearin was a scholar of fine quality, who devoted himself especially to the fields of Old English and American Folk-Lore. To both of these subjects he had made contributions of some importance. At the same time he devoted himself enthusiastically to the problems of teaching and administration in college work; and did notable service, since coming to California, in helping to build up the standards of Occidental College.

The members of the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast desire to place on record their high regard for Dr. Shearin, both as scholar and friend, and to express their profound regret at his untimely death.

The Auditing Committee reported that the accounts and vouchers of the Treasurer were correct and in order. On motion the report was adopted.

On motion a vote of thanks for hospitality was extended to the Directors of the University Club, and the Treasurer was instructed to contribute from the funds of the Association the sum of five dollars to the "Christmas Box" for the waiters of the University Club.

On motion it was voted that Professor J. S. P. Tatlock, of the Leland Stanford Junior University, represent the Association officially at the approaching meeting of the Modern Language Association of America at Columbus.

The Nominating Committee proposed the following officers for the ensuing year:

President: J. S. P. Tatlock.

Vice-Presidents: W. A. Cooper, M. E. Deutsch.

Secretary: S. G. Morley, during such time as he shall be in residence, to be succeeded by P. B. Fay.

Treasurer: G. M. Calhoun.

Executive Committee: The above-named officers and C. G. Allen, B. O. Foster, A. P. McKinlay, R. Schevill.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted and these officers were elected.

The attendance at the four sessions numbered 33, 45, 40, and 30, respectively.

Twenty-one new members were elected.

S. G. MORLEY,
Secretary.

PROGRAM

First Session

Friday, November 28, 10 a. m.

1. "The Romantic Development of the Doctrine of the Relation of Poetry to Morality." By Professor Raymond M. Alden, of the Leland Stanford Junior University.

2. "Ludvig Holberg's *Iter Subterraneum*." By Professor A. R. Anderson, of the University of Utah.

3. "The Song of Songs and Fray Luis de Leon's Translation of it into Spanish." By Professor Carlos Bransby, of the University of California.

4. "Gender of the Words for Sun and Moon in the Germanic Languages." By Mr. Clair Hadyn Bell, of the University of California.

5. "A Bibliography of the English Language." By Dr. Arthur G. Kennedy, of the Leland Stanford Junior University.

Second Session

Friday, November 28, 2 p. m.

6. "The Four Daughters of God in Italy." By Professor Hope Traver, of Mills College.

7. "Certain prefixes meaning *to grasp*." By Professor Clarence Paschall, of the University of California.

8. "An Interpretation of a Passage in the *Silvae* of Statius." By Professor William A. Merrill, of the University of California.

9. "The Homeric Oath." By Professor Max Radin, of the University of California.

10. "Another Spanish Version of the Legend of Judas Iscariot." By Professor C. G. Allen, of the Leland Stanford Junior University.

Third Session

Friday, November 28, 8 p. m., at the University Club

11. Annual Address of the President of the Association, Professor H. C. Nutting, of the University of California: "The Humanity of the Ancients."

Fourth Session

Saturday, November 29, 10 a. m.

12. "The Supposed Autographa of Iohannes Scottus." By Professor Edward K. Rand, of Harvard University and the University of California. (*Illustrated by the stereopticon.*)

13. "French Sources of Emerson." By Professor Régis Michaud, of the University of California.

14. "The Postern Door in the Palace of Odysseus." By Professor Augustus T. Murray, of the Leland Stanford Junior University.

15. "Blake, Carlyle, and the French Revolution." By Professor Harold L. Bruce, of the University of California.

THE INTERNATIONAL UNION OF ACADEMIES AND THE AMERICAN COUNCIL OF LEARNED SOCIETIES

The war having brought about the dissolution of the International Association of Academies, which had been founded in 1900, there was constituted in 1918 the International Research Council, which it is intended shall replace it in the domain of the physical sciences. It was felt that some similar organization of scholars was needed in the humanistic studies, and on May 15, 1919, representatives of a number of nations met in Paris and drew plans for an International Union of Academies (Union Académique Internationale), designed to further the co-operation of scholars and to foster research and publication of a character that particularly demands collective international effort. A second meeting was held in October, 1919, at which the Union was definitely constituted by representatives of Belgium, Denmark, France, Great Britain, Greece, Holland, Italy, Japan, Poland, Russia, and the United States. Each participating nation is entitled to two delegates, and additional nations can be elected to membership by a three-fourths vote of the delegates. There are six officers, elected for three-year terms, no two officers to be of the same nationality. Brussels was chosen as the headquarters of the Union, and at least one yearly assembly of the delegates is to be held.

The participating nations are represented in the Union by delegates from their humanistic academies. No such national academy existing in the United States, the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and the American Historical Association invited thirteen representative

American learned societies devoted to humanistic studies to send delegates to a conference at Boston in September, 1919, to consider what steps should be taken to secure the effective participation of this country. In this conference it was decided to propose to the thirteen societies the establishment of an American Council of Learned Societies, to be composed of delegates from the national societies devoted to the advancement, by scientific methods, of the humanistic studies. It was recommended that this Council be the medium of communication between the Union Académique Internationale and the societies represented in the Council; that the Council designate delegates to represent this country in the "UAI"; and that the Council be authorized to take measures, upon its own initiative, to advance the general interests of humanistic studies, and be especially charged with maintaining and strengthening relations among the societies represented.

The Modern Language Association at its Columbus meeting ratified this plan and designated Professors E. C. Armstrong and John Erskine as its representatives in the Council. Favorable action has also been taken by the Philosophical, the Antiquarian, and the Oriental Societies, the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, the Philological Association, the Archæological Institute, the Historical, the Economic, and the Political Science Associations, and the Sociological Society. The Council held its first meeting on February 14, 1920, electing Professor C. H. Haskins the chairman of its executive committee and Professor G. M. Whicher its secretary, and the executive committee later named as delegates to the May meeting of the UAI Dr. L. H. Gray and Professor Carleton Brown.

The 1920 session of the Union was held at Brussels May 26-28, Dr. Gray and Professor Brown being present as our representatives. It was announced that the following additional academies had adhered: Norway, Portugal, Roumania, Serbia. The Union approved proposals for a corpus of Attic vases, an edition of Grotius, and a catalogue of Greek alchemic manuscripts. Action on various other proposals was postponed until May, 1921.

The income of the UAI from the dues of participating Academies and Councils will be at best hardly more than sufficient for its administrative expenses, and other sources must be drawn upon to finance such publication enterprises as may be approved. An anomalous situation presents itself in that, while the academies represented in the Union have, in many instances, vested funds or governmental grants which make possible pro-rata contributions toward these undertakings, the American Council is at present without funds of this character. It is unthinkable that a country of such large resources should continue under the necessity of voting on all projects submitted, with the reservation that America assumes no responsibility for its share in the expense. The situation is one that assuredly can be remedied. The friends of learning in the United States can and will provide the American Council with funds, whether in the form of annual contributions or of permanent endowment, which will permit it to assume its proper proportion. It is important that the members of the Modern Language Association and of the other constituent groups draw the attention of all who might be interested to the value and the needs of the American Council and the International Union of Academies.

It is equally important that American scholars shall be

MEMBERS OF THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

INCLUDING MEMBERS OF THE CENTRAL DIVISION OF THE
ASSOCIATION

Names of Life Members are printed in small capitals

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- ADAMS, EDWARD LARBABEE, Assistant Professor of French and Spanish, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. [1333 Washtenaw Ave.]
- Adams, Eleanor N., President and Professor of English, Oxford College for Women, Oxford, O.
- Adams, Gertrude Mason, Instructor in English, Pennsylvania State College, State College, Pa. [107 Park Ave.]
- Adams, John Chester, Assistant Professor of English and Faculty Adviser in Undergraduate Literary Activities, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
- Adams, Joseph Quincy, Professor of English, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. [167 Goldwin Smith Hall]
- Adams, Warren Austin, Professor of German, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H.
- Adler, Frederick Henry Herbert, Professor and Head of the Department of German, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, Ark. [603 N. Highland Ave.]
- Agar, Herbert Sebastian, Fellow in English, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. [56 Bayard Lane]
- Albaladejo y Martinez, José M., Instructor in Spanish, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. [University Club]
- Albert, Harry, Principal, Walpole High School, Walpole, N. H.
- Alberti, Christine, Head of the French Department, Allegheny High School, North Side, Pittsburgh, Pa. [318 W. North Ave.]
- Albright, Evelyn May, Instructor in English, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. [1227 E. 57th St.]
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- Alden, Raymond Macdonald, Professor of English, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal.

- Alderman, William E., Associate Professor of English, Beloit College, Beloit, Wis. [718 Church St.]
- Alexander, Luther Herbert, Instructor in Romance Languages, Barnard College, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
- Allen, Beverly Sprague, Assistant Professor of English, New York University, New York, N. Y. [University Heights]
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- Allen, Herbert F., Assistant Professor of English, Southern Branch, University of California, Los Angeles, Cal.
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- Allen, Louis, Assistant Professor of French, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Okla. [527 W. Eufaula St.]
- Allen, William H., Bookseller, 3417 Walnut St., Philadelphia, Pa.
- Almstedt, Hermann, Professor of Germanic Languages, University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo.
- Alonso, Antonio, Instructor in Spanish, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind. [114 S. Grant St.]
- Altrocchi, Rudolph, Assistant Professor of Romance Languages, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. [5756 Blackstone Ave.]
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- Amy, Ernest F., Associate Professor of English, Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, O.
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- Andrews, Clarence Edward, Assistant Professor of English, Ohio State University, Columbus, O.
- Arbib-Costa, Alfonso, Instructor in Romance Languages, College of the City of New York, New York, N. Y. [500 W. 144th St.]
- Armstrong, A. Joseph, Professor and Head of the Department of English, Baylor University, Waco, Tex. [625 Dutton St.]
- Armstrong, Edward C., Professor of the French Language, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. [35 Edgehill St.]
- Arnold, Frank Russell, Professor of Modern Languages, State Agricultural College, Logan, Utah.
- Arnold, Morris LeRoy, Professor of English Literature, Hamline University, St. Paul, Minn. [2628 Park Ave., Minneapolis, Minn.]

- Aron, Albert W., Head of the German Dept., Francis W. Parker School, Chicago, Ill. [2006 Chase Ave.]
- Arvin, Neil Cole, Instructor in French, The Rice Institute, Houston, Texas.
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- Babbitt, Irving, Professor of French Literature, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [6 Kirkland Road]
- Babcock, Charlotte Farrington, Assistant Professor of English, Simmons College, Boston, Mass.
- Babcock, Earle Brownell, Professor of Romance Languages and Literatures, New York University, New York, N. Y. [University Heights]
- Babson, Herman, Professor, and Head of the Department of Modern Languages, Purdue University, West Lafayette, Ind. [1012 7th St.]
- Bach, Matthew G., Instructor in German, Teachers' College, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. [Livingston Hall]
- Bacon, Susan Almira, Assistant Professor of Romance Languages, Reed College, Portland, Ore.
- de Bacourt, Pierre, Assistant Professor of Romance Languages and Literatures, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
- Bagster-Collins, Elijah William, Associate Professor of German, Teachers' College, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.

- Baillot, Edouard Paul, Professor of Romance Languages, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill. [724 Simpson St.]
- Baker, Asa George, In Charge of Editorial Work, G. & C. Merriam Co., Publishers of Webster's Dictionaries, Springfield, Mass.
- Baker, Edwin Lathrop, Assistant Professor of Spanish and Italian, Oberlin College, Oberlin, O. [P. O. Box 54]
- Baker, Fannie Anna, Head of the Department of Modern Languages, Fort Smith High School, Fort Smith, Ark. [515 N. 15th St.]
- Baker, Franklin Thomas, Professor of English, Teachers' College, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. [525 W. 120th St.]
- Baker, George Pierce, Professor of Dramatic Literature, Department of English, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [195 Brattle St.]
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- Baldwin, Edward Chauncey, Assistant Professor of English Literature, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill. [802 S. Lincoln Ave.]
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- Barba, Preston Albert, Associate Professor of English, Heidelberg University, Tiffin, O. [42 Clinton Ave.]
- Bardin, James Cook, Associate Professor of Romanic Languages, University of Virginia, University, Va. [Box 80]
- Bargy, Henry, Professor of French, Hunter College of the City of New York, New York, N. Y.
- Barlow, Joseph W., Instructor in Spanish, Orange High School, Orange, N. J. [29 Park Place]
- Barlow, William M., Head of the Dept. of Modern Languages, Curtis High School, Staten Island, N. Y.
- Barney, Winfield Supply, Professor and Head of the Department of Romance Languages, North Carolina College for Women, Greensboro, N. C. [406 Tate St.]

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- BATTIN, BENJAMIN F., Professor of German, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pa.
- Baudin, M. C., Assistant Professor of Romance Languages, Miami University, Oxford, O.
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- Baur, William F., Assistant Professor of Germanic Languages, University of Colorado, Boulder, Col. [901 University Ave.]
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- Beam, Jacob N., Princeton, N. J.
- Bean, Helen Alice, Fairfield, Ia. [202 N. Main St.]
- Bear, Maud Cecelia, Instructor in French and Latin, Beaver High School, Beaver, Pa. [148 Taylor Ave.]
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- Beatty, Joseph Moorhead, Jr., Instructor in English, Goucher College, Baltimore, Md.
- DE BEAUMONT, VICTOR, Associate Professor of the French Language and Literature, University of Toronto, Toronto, Canada. [73 Queen's Park]
- Beck, Jean Baptiste, Associate Professor of Mediæval French Literature, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa.
- Becker, Ernest Julius, Principal, Eastern High School, Baltimore, Md.
- Beckman, Frederick E., Assistant Professor of French and Spanish, Southern Branch, University of California, Los Angeles, Cal. [562 N. Kenmore Ave.]
- Bedford, Frances Elizabeth, Professor of Romance Languages, Simpson College, Indianola, Ia.
- Bek, William G., Professor of German, University of North Dakota, Grand Forks, N. D. [Box 1233, University, N. D.]
- Belden, Henry Marvin, Professor of English, University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo. [811 Virginia Ave.]
- Belden, Mary Megie, Profesof of English, Lake Erie College. [287 W. College St., Oberlin, O.]
- Belknap, Arthur Train, Dean and Head of the Dept. of English, State Normal School, Mansfield, Pa.
- Bell, Clair Hadyn, Instructor in German, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. [1427 Bonita Ave.]
- Bender, Harold H., Professor of Indo-Germanic Philology, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.
- Benham, Allen Rogers, Professor of English, University of Washington, Seattle, Wash.
- Bennett, Albert Arms, Assistant in English Philology, Leland Stanford, Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal. [2625 Piedmont Ave., Berkeley, Cal.]
- Benson, Adolph Burnett, Assistant Professor of German and Scandinavian, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. [18 College St.]

- Berdan, John Milton, Assistant Professor of English, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
- Bergeron, Maxime L., Instructor in French, College of the City of New York, New York, N. Y.
- Bergé-Soler, Edward, Head of the Department of Modern Languages, High School of Commerce, Boston, Mass. [20 Hillside Road, Newton Highlands]
- Bernbaum, Ernest, Professor of English, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill. [University Club]
- Bernstoff, Frank Adolph, Instructor in German, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill. [806 Milburn St.]
- DE BÉTHUNE, Baron FRANÇOIS, Louvain, Belgium. [34 rue de Béroit]
- Betz, Gottlieb Augustus, Instructor in Germanic Languages and Literature, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
- Béziat, André, Associate Professor of Romance Languages, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn.
- Bigelow, Eleanor, Radcliffe College, Cambridge, Mass. [6 Wellington Terrace, Brookline, Mass.]
- Billetdoux, Edmond Wood, Professor of the Spanish Language and Literature, Rutgers College and the State University of New Jersey, New Brunswick, N. J. [324 Lincoln Ave.]
- Bird, James P., Professor of Romance Languages, Carleton College, Northfield, Minn.
- Bishop, David Horace, Professor of the English Language and Literature, University of Mississippi, Oxford, Miss. [University, Miss.]
- Bissell, Kenneth M., Professor of French, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, Cal. [7248 Hillside Ave.]
- Black, Matthew Wilson, Instructor in English, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.
- Blackwell, Robert Emory, President and Professor of English, Randolph-Macon College, Ashland, Va.
- Blake, Harriet Manning, Head of the Department of English, The Baldwin School, Bryn Mawr, Pa.
- Blanchard, Frederic Thomas, Associate Professor of English, Southern Branch, University of California, Los Angeles, Cal.
- BLAU, MAX FRIEDRICH, Professor of Germanic Languages and Literatures, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.
- Blondheim, David Simon, Associate Professor of French, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.
- Bloomfield, Leonard, Assistant Professor of Comparative Philology and German, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.
- Blount, Alma, Associate Professor of English, Michigan State Normal College, Ypsilanti, Mich. [952 Ellis St.]

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- Bonilla, Rodrigo Huguet, Instructor in Romance Languages, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. [709 Haven Ave.]
- Bonnell, John Kester, Professor of English, Goucher College, Baltimore, Md. [Boulevard Apartments]
- Booker, John Manning, Associate Professor of English, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.
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- Borgman, Albert Stephens, Instructor in English, New York University, University Heights, New York, N. Y.
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- Bothne, Gisle C. J., Head Professor of Scandinavian Languages and Literatures, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.
- Bourdette, Jean-Hubert Eloy, Professor of Romance Languages, Lake Erie College, Painesville, O. [180 Prospect St.]
- Bourland, Benjamin Parsons, Professor of Romance Languages, Adelbert College of Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O. [11500 Euclid Ave.]
- Bouton, Archibald Lewis, Professor of English, Dean of the College of Arts and Pure Science, New York University, University Heights, New York, N. Y.
- Bowen, Abba Willard, Professor of Modern Languages, Peru State Normal School, Peru, Neb.
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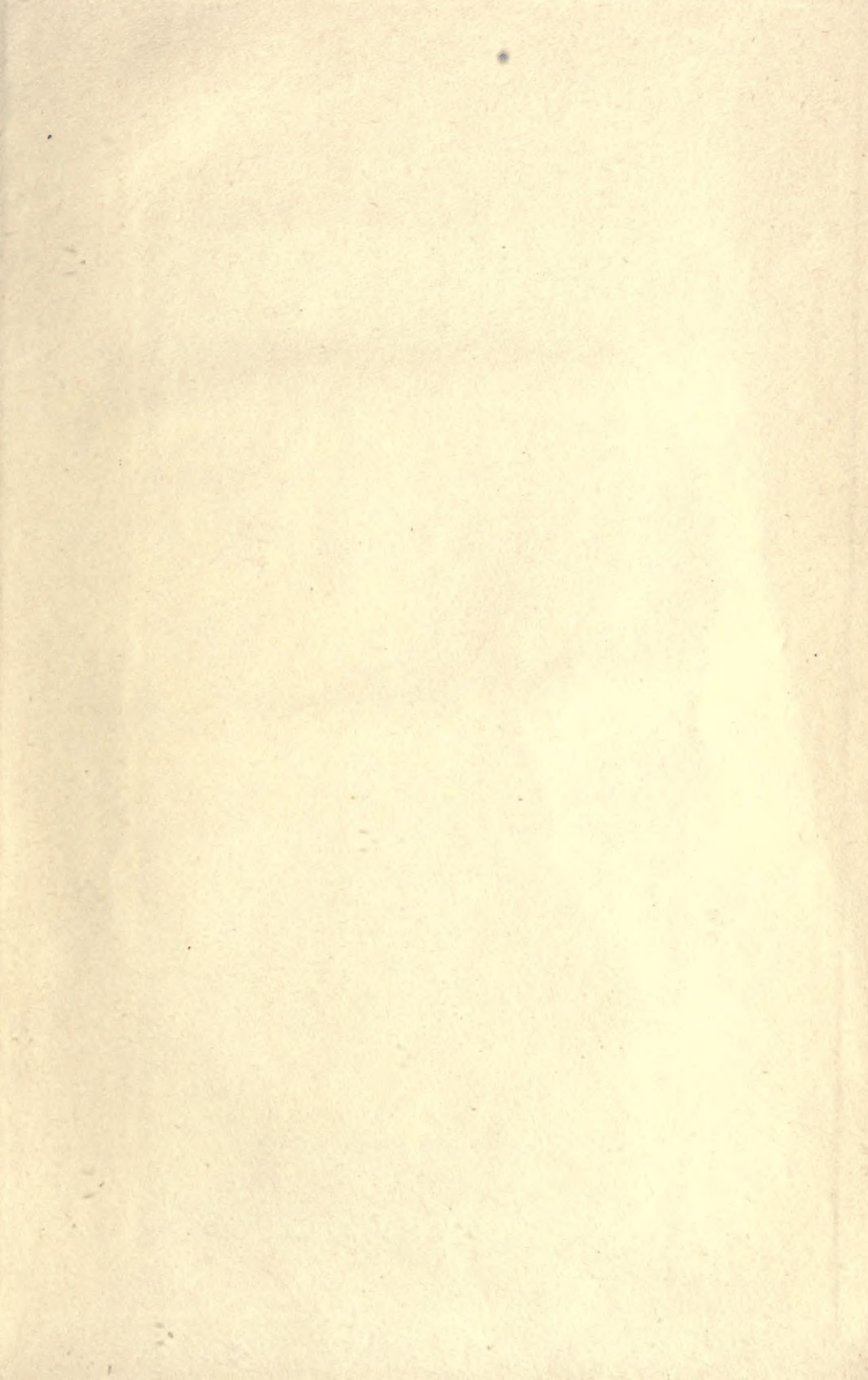
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